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Narratives of Inuit inmates: Crime, identity and cultural alienation (Nunavut).

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NARRATIVES OF INUIT INMATES:

CRIME, IDENTITY AND CULTURAL ALIENATION

by

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ABSTRACT

The rates and nature of Inuit criminal activity are of great concern in the Nunavut Territory. Substance abuse and the victimization of women are particularly salient issues in Northern communities. Such problems are suggested to be a result of colonization processes, which have alienated Inuit individuals from their traditional knowledge and imposed upon them an unfamiliar system of justice. Presently, self-government strategies have been created to empower the Inuit's control of their own social structures. This is integral within the realm of criminal justice, as in the development of efficacious corrections it is imperative to understand the lived experiences of the Inuit.

The present study has utilized grounded methodology to formulate theory derived from the Inuit inmates' perspectives of the justice system and treatment objectives. Participants from the all-male inmate population at the Baffin Correctional Centre were interviewed to determine their beliefs regarding identity, crime, rehabilitation, the roles of women, and their future. Recommendations for prevention and rehabilitation programming are provided toward an understanding of how to best facilitate the unique needs of the Inuit culture.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Purpose of the Study

This study was designed to address the issue of criminal activity amongst the Inuit of the Baffin Island Region. Twenty semi-structured interviews were conducted with inmates at the Baffin Correctional Centre in Iqaluit, Nunavut, which focused upon the offenders' cultural and familial experiences, as well as their involvement with the justice system. Overall, the narratives sought to elicit information about factors that contribute to the criminal involvement of Inuit, and develop recommendations for the deterrence of criminal activity in the North. Through the use of qualitative analysis, the offenders' perspectives and experiences were integral in the development of suggestions for more efficacious treatment and prevention strategies within Inuit corrections. It is hoped that the information presented through this project will provide a coherent theoretical understanding of criminal rehabilitation in the North and facilitate healing amongst the Inuit.

Aboriginal Crime: An Overview

Aboriginal people are over-represented within many Canadian prisons (Waldram, 1997; Stevens, 1997; LaPrairie, 1992). The high incidence of First Nations imprisonment exists at all levels of the Canadian justice system, including provincial, federal, and territorial institutions (McMillan, 1995). The reality of high native imprisonment is particularly salient in the Northwest (NWT) and Nunavut Territories. Inuit offenders are incarcerated at a rate much greater than any other native group throughout Canada (Moyer, Kopelman, LaPrairie, & Billingsley, 1985). This statistic considers the disparity

that should exist in the offender population given the high representation of Inuit amongst the general population in the North. The volume and nature of crimes committed in the Territories merits investigation to determine the unique factors confronted by this population that influence their criminal behaviour. Information about criminal behaviour by Inuit inmates would be beneficial for the development of effective rehabilitation programs. This study will provide suggestions for prevention and intervention strategies that would aim to reduce criminal behaviour and recidivism trends. Several explanations have been proposed to account for the high rate of Inuit crime, yet few empirical studies have been conducted to verify the accuracy of these interpretations. A primary focus has been upon the impact that the imposed integration of modernized society has had upon Inuit. As such, colonization and cultural alienation have been suggested as major factors contributing to unlawful behaviour amongst the Inuit (Monture-Angus, 1996). Loss of identity and role confusion, through the recent and rapid assimilation to the Westernized system of justice, may create underlying difficulties for the younger Inuit generations. Thus, self-government has been implemented to allow Inuit to determine appropriate strategies to target the difficulties, cultural, social and individual, encountered by their people (Duffy, 1988).

Criminal Activity

The rates of crime in the NWT and Nunavut are significantly higher than for the rest of Canada. Data from the Canadian Criminal Justice System indicates that in 1992, total Criminal Code offenses for the Baffin region were at a rate of 350 per 1000 population, whereas the rest of Canada stood at a rate of 100 (Griffiths, Zellerer, Wood, & Saville, 1995). The Baffin region reported significantly more violent (60 per 1000

population) and property offenses (110 per 1000) than the rest of Canada (10 per 1000; 57 per 1000, respectively). These statistics, for both the Baffin Region and Canada, have demonstrated an increase over the past two decades. It is recognized that reported offense rates separated according to individual communities in the Baffin Region would provide more accurate indications of the distribution of crime in the North, however, such statistics were unavailable. The paucity of published data regarding Inuit crime substantially inhibits a comprehensive understanding of criminal behaviour in the North, as data has primarily been extrapolated from Aboriginal populations across Canada (Marenin, 1992).

Correctional data from Indian Policing indicates that the rates of Aboriginal incarceration show a continual increase in the Northern and Western regions of Canada (LaPrairie, 1992). It has been demonstrated that crime statistics underreport the actual occurrence of crime throughout Canada (Synnott, 1996). It has been suggested that cultural processes, as well as personal endangerment caused by reporting assaultive crimes have restrained the collection of accurate statistics regarding criminal behaviour within the Territorial regions even moreso than the rest of Canada (Marenin, 1992). Thus, the incidence of crime in the N.W.T. and Baffin Region may be more disproportionate than the data suggests.

Criminal behaviour trends demonstrate that criminal activity frequently begins during youth and a majority of these individuals recidivate (Linn, 1992). Correction patterns indicate that Aboriginal individuals are especially over-represented at the justice level of the Young Offender's system. An Aboriginal justice inquiry conducted in Manitoba in 1990 indicated that 64 percent of the offenders at the Manitoba Youth Centre

were Aboriginal (Manitoba. 1991). The N.W.T. shows the projected rate of youth incarceration as the fastest growing of all Canadian inmate populations (Canadian Crime Statistics. 1994). The Task Force on Aboriginal Peoples in Federal Corrections (1991) indicated that Aboriginal young offenders are especially prone to recidivism, when compared to Caucasian young offenders. Thereby. these Aboriginal youth are at greater risk of transferring their criminal histories from adolescence into adulthood. Given such information. the unrepresentative number of Native offenders presently incarcerated is expected to continue for several years.

In the understanding of offending behaviour. several factors have been proposed to contribute to the high rate of First Nations' criminal activity and incarceration. Such factors include policing. judicial processes. and cultural disparities. as well as actual rates of criminal behaviour. none of which have been suggested to be mutually exclusive. Police presence may serve to increase the rates of crime in Northern regions. The N.W.T. and Yukon possess the highest concentration of Native individuals and the highest ratio in Canada of police to population. at 4.9 per 1000 (Juristat. 1981). The high numbers of law enforcement authorities increases the contact that Aboriginal people have with the policing system. Although this may be beneficial for law-abiding community members. through the number of officers available for service calls. individuals who are committing crimes experience higher levels of contact with the legal system. This is a result of both the increased monitoring of criminal behaviour. as well as "reactive policing processes", through which law enforcement authorities receive more reports of criminal behaviour. In addition. less than one percent of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (R.C.M.P.) is Native (Frideres. 1993). The R.C.M.P. training program does not include programming

that specifically targets the unique needs of the Aboriginal culture (Griffiths, 1990). Thus, officers have no formal training to assist their understanding of the issues faced by First Nations' peoples. This has particular implications for the Inuit in the remote North, as police are granted a great deal of discretionary power in the decisions of which crimes will be prosecuted. As such, the R.C.M.P. may tend to prosecute some crimes that would be more efficiently handled within the community (Patenaude, 1990).

Judicial processes in the North may also contribute to First Nation's overrepresentation in correctional institutions. The judiciary system of the N.W.T. contains three levels: Justice of the Peace court, Magistrate's court and the Supreme Court of the N.W.T. (Condon, 1988). Minor offenses are handled by the Justice of the Peace court, whose mandate is often much greater in the N.W.T. than throughout the rest of Canada. This court is presided over by a local Inuk member who has received minimal professional training within this area of specialty (Griffiths, 1990). Often, the Native Justice of the Peace is personally acquainted with the defendant and victim. This leads them to encounter difficulties in balancing prosecution objectives with protection needs of friends or relatives (Patenaude, 1990). In addition, the Native Justice of the Peace must contend with and create a compromise between the contradicting objectives of Inuit law that seeks the restoration of peace and the Euro-Canadian law directed towards guilt and punishment.

The crimes of greater severity are heard at the Magistrate's or Supreme Court level. Community Elders are frequently consulted to assist in the determination of issues that necessitate resolution at a higher level of the justice system (MacPhail, 1988). Once evaluated, more serious offenses are usually presented to a circuit court that travels

throughout the Northern communities. Circuit courts were designed by Justice J. H. Sissons. in the 1950s. to "...bring justice to everyman's door" (Griffiths. 1990, p. 3). Circuit courts are composed of a Territorial or Supreme Court judge. Crown counsel. defense lawyer. court clerk. court reporter. and at times a legal interpreter (Patenaude. 1990). The circuit court travels by plane from community to community in the North. Members of the court are requested to attend a session in a community once there are enough cases awaiting trial to merit their travel and time. Furthermore. the circuit court confronts several situations that impede the satisfactory delivery of justice (Griffiths. et al.. 1995). Many communities receive court services as infrequently as once every three months. weather permitting. which inhibits the speed of justice. The court often has a large docket of between twenty and thirty cases to be presented within a day. If the court is unable to hear all the cases. the hearing will be remanded to a later date. usually several months in the future. Such impediments to the delivery of justice in the North force individuals who have been charged with serious offenses to await their trial. at times for months. while incarcerated in remand at a prison facility.

Individuals in the Northern communities believe that they are being unjustly treated by the court and legal processes (Coutu. 1990). Many situational impediments cause the system of justice for the Inuit to be questionable. Language barriers exist because the Inuit may be unfamiliar with technical legal jargon. and might not adequately understand the legal proceedings (Cawsey. 1991). Often. there is insufficient time for the defense attorney to appropriately counsel the defendant regarding their case and plea options. Implications of guilt may be presumed by the Inuit simply because they were arrested. Furthermore. in order to facilitate the timely processing of court cases. the

defendant is frequently encouraged to plead guilty. As well, the short period of consultation by the legal counsel does not provide adequate time to assess the offender's mental state. Fitness to stand trial is suspect, in that serious psychological disturbances are often reported amongst Aboriginal criminals which had been unrecognized prior to their sentence (Arboleda-Florez, Holley, Williams, & Crisanti, 1994). Of greatest concern is the belief that the circuit court is not holding the Inuit population's best interests in mind when placing judgment. It has been suggested that the circuit court might predetermine their agenda involving the designation of time spent on specific charges, findings of guilt or innocence, and sentencing, even before the case is heard. Requirements of Native justice dictate that judiciaries simultaneously consider the victim, offender, community, and Criminal Code when placing judgment (Linn, 1992). This mandate is difficult to follow for those unfamiliar with the Inuit culture, especially when attempting to balance rehabilitation needs with victim rights. Thus, both the provision of due process to Inuit defendants and the unique contribution of Inuit to the justice system are astutely overlooked.

Culturally, the Native objectives of sentencing and treatment are much different than the Westernized system of punishment and retribution (Donahue, 1997). The Western model of correctional sentencing focuses upon restitution by the offender and has been imposed upon the Inuit model. The concept of guilt and prosecution for crimes is foreign to the Aboriginal system of justice. Instead, they place emphasis on the healing and restoration of community harmony. In several First Nations communities, "sentencing circles" are utilized, which incorporate the offender, victim, family, Elders, and other community members in the establishment of appropriate sentencing for

particular offenses (McMillan, 1995). The conceptualization of offenses and appropriate penalties deemed by the Aboriginal system of justice is largely incompatible with the Canadian Criminal Code (Donohue, 1997). Although the objectives of each system appear mutually exclusive, the Aboriginal justice system must function within the framework of the Euro-Canadian model. Aboriginal communities should determine which crimes they are capable of prosecuting and retain decision on the more severe crimes, such as assault and robbery, for the Canadian Criminal Code (Auger, Doob, Auger, Driben, 1992). Moreover, the Inuit communities, unlike many First Nations reserves, do not have a working system of justice. Therefore, the Inuit are faced with the difficult task of developing a justice system that will meet their unique needs, yet be incorporated within the Westernized model.

Coupled with constrained and at times inadequate judicial intervention is the isolation faced in remote Northern communities from mainstream social services. A major factor that influences recidivism in the North is that appropriate treatment and rehabilitation programs are restricted by geographic location. As a consequence of the lack of specialized services, sentencing options are few. The resultant leniency of court sentencing has been criticized by community members and law enforcement authorities alike (Griffiths, et al, 1995). It has been suggested that the sentencing of Inuit offenders is rarely suitable for the crimes committed, and does not sufficiently address the issues concerning severe criminal acts, such as violent or sexual assault. Community members believe that the unique circumstances of each Inuit defendant should be considered prior to sentencing. Therefore, situational variability would exist when evaluating the severity of each crime, as well as upon determining the appropriate conditions of the sentence.

Through attention to Aboriginal issues and self-government, Native communities are becoming increasingly responsible for dealing with their own system of justice. It has been suggested that increased control of judicial processes will incur improvements to Native criminal justice (Morse, 1992). Many such systems have incorporated the use of sweat lodges, traditional ceremonies, and spiritual guidance in prisons to assist in the rehabilitative processes of Native offenders. Much of this work is performed by Elders and spiritual leaders who aim to create cultural reintegration of Aboriginal beliefs (Waldram, 1997). The objective is to break the pattern of assimilation to Western ideals and allow Native inmates to develop cultural pride and a sense of identity. The reintegration of communalistic value systems and harmonious functioning are imperative in Aboriginal rehabilitation (LaPrairie, 1992). However, critics indicate that the impact on the offender, victim and communities of treatment programs based upon Native restorative justice initiatives have been under-evaluated, and may not appropriately target crimes, such as violent assaults (Clairmont, & Linden, 1998).

Several initiatives have been designed to reintegrate traditional knowledge into the offenders' experiences while detained and have been implemented with moderate success (Waldram, 1997; Griffiths, 1990). In 1972, at Drumheller Institution, the practice of allowing Elders to conduct spiritual rituals with Aboriginal inmates was initiated (Solicitor General, 1991). National policy was developed in 1987 to support Elder involvement in prisons. Through the Native Offender Programs (Commissioner's Directive #702), Aboriginal prisoners were allowed to engage in spiritual practices with respect to Native traditions. Elders were permitted to enter the institution and conduct Native spiritual ceremonies with traditional articles (i.e., ceremonial pipes and sweat

lodges) through a cooperative agreement with the Deputy Commissioner. Intensive supervision techniques allowed Native young offenders to have open custodial arrangements to reside with "community helpers", who would provide a caring environment and instruct the youth on traditional knowledge (Mourot, & Bird, 1990). Similar offender rehabilitation projects in the Baffin region target the unique social circumstances faced by the Inuit population. The Land Program, at the Baffin Correctional Centre, was developed to facilitate Native offenders' skill-building towards traditional ecological knowledge. Offenders are permitted to leave the prison while under supervision to receive instruction on hunting, fishing, as well as land and survival skills. Unlike many correctional facilities, inmates at this facility may handle loaded firearms under surveillance as part of the hunting program. As well, inmates provide community servicing through the assistance of non-profit organizations and public projects.

Baffin Correctional System

The Baffin Correctional Centre (B.C.C.), the site of the present study, is located in Iqaluit, Nunavut, a community of 3600 residents. The B.C.C. an all-male prison, which houses up to 68 inmates, and is a multilevel facility handling minimum-, medium-, and some maximum-security inmates with a variety of programming needs. The name of the correctional facility in Inuktitut is *Ikajuratuvik*, which means, "...a place to get help" (Griffiths, et al., 1995). Suggestions have been made to upgrade the security of the B.C.C., through the provision of single cell accommodations, secure custody for the general population, and an adequate remand area (Master Development Plan, 1991). Upon completion of the upgrades, the B.C.C. would be capable of handling all higher security cases, as well as minimum-security inmates. Currently, over half of the offenders

at B.C.C. are incarcerated for crimes committed against women. and had perpetrated these offenses while under the influence of alcohol (Griffiths. et. al.. 1995).

Violence Against Women

As evidenced by the nature of criminal engagement amongst the Inuit. crimes involving the victimization of women are a significant concern in the Nunvaut Territory. A study of Crime. Law. and Justice amongst the Inuit in the Baffin Region (1995) stated that the majority of violent offenses in the Baffin region were perpetrated by Inuit males against Inuit females. The Inmate Profile (Zinck. 1997) conducted at B.C.C. in 1997 indicated that 53.6 percent of incarcerated offenders were serving sentences that were sexual or violent in nature. Many studies in the N.W.T. have demonstrated that the number of sexual and physical assaults experienced by Inuit women is high compared to the rest of Canada (Inuit Women. 1993). The incidence of family violence in the N.W.T. is documented to be at least three times greater than the national rate of 22 percent (National Victimization Survey. 1990). Through R.C.M.P. files in Iqaluit. it has be estimated that nearly two thirds of reported cases of physical. or sexual assault against women were perpetrated within the family unit (Griffiths. et al.. 1995). Homicide. assault. and dangerous use of a firearm with a spousal victim were demonstrated as trends of Native criminal behaviour in the N.W.T. (Metzler. Langford. 1984: Moyer. 1992). Jealousy was listed as the most common motive for such offenses.

"Choices" (Women's Secretariat. 1986). a three year action plan designed to implement suggestions from the Task Force on Spousal Assault. indicated that it is difficult to determine the actual prevalence of spousal assault. Estimates indicate that only between ten to thirty percent of assaults are reported to Social Services. Survey

results indicate that nearly four of five Aboriginal women may be victims of violence (Jaffe, Hastings, Reitzel, & Austin, 1993). Several theoretical explanations have been given for the underreporting of violence against women. Within the family circle, traditional pressures may defer the reporting of abusive family members. Women may want or be pressured to protect their husbands or extended family from the embarrassment brought about by an assault charge. Within the community at large, those women who have reported violent crimes may suffer "victim-blaming", whereby it is suggested that the victim contributed to her abuse (Ford, & Regoli, 1993). This stigmatization deters other women, thereafter from reporting abuse. Furthermore, many communities lack adequate support through specialized protection facilities and social service agencies. This fact is of great importance, as it renders abused women who are fearful of subsequent abuse with nowhere to turn for safety. Especially for Inuit women, who have been subject to racist practices of the powerful White culture, language difficulties, fear of public authorities, and potential alienation from one's support network, leaving their abusive husbands may appear more difficult than enduring the violence (Trypuc, 1994).

Spousal abuse constitutes a significant proportion of the abuse against women in the N.W.T. Data collected by the R.C.M.P. relating to violence against women indicated that assaults occur primarily within the home (Griffiths, et al., 1995). As such, changes in family and gender roles have been suggested to play a significant part in the creation of domestic abuse. Over recent decades, Inuit women have encountered a substantial transformation to their position within the family (Crnkovich, 1990). Customarily, Inuit women were wedded through arranged marriages. They could assist in planning for their

family's future, however, the man was the head of the household. Wives were viewed as possessions of their husbands. Women could be subject to co-marriage practices, otherwise termed "wife-trading" (Burch, 1995). Furthermore, the husband could appropriate obedience from his wife through "wife discipline" (Griffiths, et al., 1995), a practice now termed "spousal assault". There is documentation that brutal treatment of women and dual standards existed in Native cultures during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Hamer, 1980). Elders who have commented that domestic violence has taken place throughout Inuit history have corroborated such reports. Yet, such information is subject to differing interpretive understandings based upon historical, and ethnic perspectives.

Until recently, spousal abuse was an issue that primarily remained undisclosed. Yet, presently the rates of spousal abuse are alarmingly high in many Inuit communities and have caused the incidence of domestic assault to receive increased attention (Griffiths, et al, 1995). As a consequence, there is a danger of "normalizing high-risk behaviour" in Inuit communities (Stout, 1997). It is difficult to ascertain if the incidence of domestic violence is indicative of a dramatic rise or simply that it has become more visible in recent years. Finkler and Parizeau (1972) stated that, although divorce and separation processes had become more readily available to Inuit women during the 1970s, spouses continued to demonstrate a preference to return to their abuser. This may have been a result of the "certificate of possession" which at that time gave men the sole ownership of familial possessions, and women no housing rights, nor legal recourse through which to protest eviction by their husbands (Silman, 1987).

It has been documented that there are significant behavioural sequelae to the sexual and spousal abuse that women suffer (Abbey, Hood, Young, & Malcolmson, 1993). Policy changes have been implemented to assist and protect the rights of Native women when choosing to leave their husbands, including amendments to the Indian Act of 1985 which eliminated sexual discrimination practices, such as the "certificate of possession" (Bill C-31). Efforts are being made in the Baffin region to implement mental health workers, self-help groups, and telephone crisis lines to improve community support networks for abused women. Nutaraq's Place (Baffin Island), a "safe house" for battered women, is one of the most innovative developments in addressing family violence through the provision of protection, counseling, and attitudinal challenges (Abbey, et al., 1993). Although such changes have occurred, it is apparent that increased attention must be given to the high incidence of spousal abuse in the North both to assist the victims and prevent its occurrence.

Substance-Use

A significant link has been evidenced between violence against women and the disinhibiting effects of alcohol use (Dumont-Smith, & Sioui-Labelle, 1993). Substance abuse has been indicated as a major factor in Native criminality and social concern for the Inuit (Hyde, 1992; Arboleda, et al., 1994). Finkler (1975) noted, in his study of Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit), that assaultive behaviour was perpetrated primarily by individuals who were intoxicated. These trends appear to have shifted somewhat over recent years. R.C.M.P. reports indicate that of the 107 recorded cases of spousal assault, half were committed while the offender was inebriated (Griffiths, et al., 1995). It is important to note that this statistic represents only documented cases of domestic abuse in Iqaluit.

Evidence gathered through studies of violence against women suggests that a great deal of family violence remains unreported. therefore the connection between assaultive behaviour and alcohol may be even higher when considering undisclosed incidents (Committee on the Status of Women. 1991). Although there appears to be a relationship between alcohol consumption and abusive behaviour. it is not appropriate to conclude that alcohol causes violent acts. Instead. excessive alcohol consumption may reduce the inhibitions of those who become drunk. having a significant impact on their commission of spousal and sexual abuse. Theoretical emphasis has begun to involve a variety of interpersonal factors which result in the perpetration of violent acts. such as anger. confusion and frustration (Waldram. 1997). Furthermore. theory has indicated that alcohol use may be utilized as an escape mechanism amongst Aboriginal people in response to the hardships this population has endured (Mihesuah. 1996).

Several Northern communities have made efforts to curb both the use and abuse of alcohol in order to combat the apparent social problems incurred by intoxication. Reports in the 1980s indicated that alcohol use was continuing to rise in epidemic proportions on Native reserves. In addition. Robbins (1980) has depicted the identity struggle faced by Inuit males upon restricted access to alcoholic beverages. Means to obtain alcohol in the North became limited through acts that approached prohibition. Conflict occurred as drinking behaviour merged from an act of personal assertion to the impetus for aggressive outbursts. Some reserves have declared themselves "controlled communities". thereby restricting the sale of alcohol to independents (Iqaluit). Other communities have implemented policies to reduce alcohol consumption through educational programming for adults and youth (Mattagami reserve). Illicit drug abuse has

also been targeted, yet with different objectives. Substance abuse, excluding alcohol, in the Northern communities is limited primarily to hashish and marijuana use. These substances are indicated to have little direct interaction with violence (Griffiths, et al., 1995). However, financial difficulties in obtaining the illicit substances often cause individuals to act aggressively and commit crimes, such as robbery or assault, through frustrated attempts to attain the drug (Faulkner, 1989). Yet, R.C.M.P. data indicates that violent and break-and-enter crimes are often linked with constrained offender drug use (Griffiths, et al, 1995; Faulkner, 1989). Faulkner, therefore has suggested that Inuit offender rehabilitation programs implement addiction intervention as part of the treatment protocol.

Inuit Traditional Knowledge

The Inuit population has a rich and vivid heritage. However, the Inuit have encountered a tremendous change to their lifestyle over recent decades (Monture, & Angus, 1996). The life of the Inuit before colonization was difficult. Yet, their traditional knowledge allowed them to live in an extremely arduous climate and dangerous terrain (Crowe, 1991). The Inuit cultural existence has been depicted as a cooperative society in much anthropologic and cultural literature (Matthiasson, 1980). Through communalism, Inuit shared resources, cooperated in hunting activities, and distributed gatherings amongst community members. Material possessions were less important, as collective cooperation had been the Inuit mode of existence. Inuit gender status appeared to be created through the defined terms of the division of labour (Guemple, 1986). Primarily, the men hunted and erected dwellings, while the women tended the home and children, sewed, and gathered vegetation. The Elders' status was

revered as invaluable to the Inuit culture. They contributed to the instruction of children, and were greatly respected. The Elders' wisdom was sought during difficult times and was unchallenged by the younger Inuit. All members of the community contributed to their full ability for the wellness of the Inuit society.

Spirituality, as well, played a major role in the Inuit culture. The Inuit existence was based not only in the human world but included all living things in the natural world around them (Evers, & Zepeda, 1995). Shamans, individuals who had established contact with the supernatural, were consulted by community members about illnesses and unsuccessful hunts (Brody, 1987). Spirituality for the Inuit, also, encompassed religious rituals in celebration of the seasons and food supply (Friesen, 1997).

Impact of Colonization and Cultural Alienation

Colonization has changed and continues to alter much of the Inuit's cultural existence and traditions (Dorais, 1997; Monture-Angus, 1996). The Inuit have had strategies for survival and maintenance of social control within their communities. Yet, colonization incurred a complete restructuring of the Inuit system. Governmental strategies dictated the replacement of Inuit traditions with a model of Euro-Canadian dominance, which was incongruent with Inuit functioning (McCaskill, 1992). Through colonization, the Inuit population became almost completely dependent upon the dominant White culture. The Westernized bureaucratic, economic, political and educational systems were imposed upon the Native people as the appropriate and superior societal structures. The justice system was utilized as a primary mechanism for which to impose the values of the dominant White group (Monture-Angus, 1996). The impact of colonization has been devastating to the Inuit culture. Inuit functioning and value

systems were foreign to the modernized constructs of the Euro-Canadian lifestyle. Thus, the Inuit have been thrust into an unfamiliar role of dependency and reliance upon governmental policy for housing, employment, and social institutions. As such, the Inuit population lacks control over their life and occupational choices, and have few traditional coping mechanisms to deal with the losses they have endured. Consequently, the introduction of destructive coping mechanisms by White man, such as alcohol and drug use, has been even more detrimental to the Inuit.

Educational processes have created a division between parents and children, thereby alienating young Inuit from their families and cultural heritage. Colonization of the Inuit began during the 1930s, through educational programming. Catholic and Anglican missionary involvement, and the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company in the NWT (Burch, 1995). Increasing public concern was being given to the poor schooling and health conditions of the Inuit. Governmental efforts began in the 1950s to centralize the Inuit population for medical and pedagogical purposes. The proliferation of educational institutions in the North was slow (Creery, 1993). For many Inuit children, attending school meant that one had to board away from their family and be taught by semi-skilled teachers. Evidence of recent years has indicated that a great deal of brutality and neglect occurred in these federally run institutions (Brody, 1991). It has been suggested that the atrocities experienced by Inuit children at residential school may have resulted in continued patterns of violent behaviour amongst some of the individuals who had endured such abuse. In addition, the students of these institutions were forced to abandon their cultural knowledge. Inuit children had, traditionally, learned all of the necessary life skills from their parents and other adults. However, during the last century,

missionary and later residential schools allowed the European model of educational instruction to dominate the Inuit schooling system. The intent of the residential schooling system was to assimilate Native children with contemporary European customs. Native children lost connection with their ancestral ties, and became unable to communicate in Inuktitut. A rapid breakdown began to occur in the traditional Inuit family and value systems. Inuit children were caught amidst two cultural worlds and had formed attachment to neither. The colonial system had disoriented them from their parents' culture and yet prohibited their full integration into the White man's world. One parent remarked, "...the present young people have only learnt some 'White ways'. Now they are like lost people" (Creery, 1993, p.21). Parents had relinquished control of and become dislocated from their children. There has been little given to Inuit individuals to replace the rapidly changing forms of religion and technology or to help them efficiently cope with such dramatic reorganization of their lifestyle. Inclusion of material relevant to the Inuit culture, such as language and traditional skills, was mandated in the mid-1970s by the Department of Education (Chartrand, 1982), and presently much instruction at Inuit schools is in Inuktitut. The erosion of the family and community has dramatically weakened the traditional influence on the lives of the young Inuit (LaPrairie, 1992), and cultural disintegration had begun.

The transformation of the Inuit's social and environmental situation has significantly impacted their culture and identity. Modernity has been incorporated into the Inuit lifestyle at a rapid pace. Economic, political, and cultural institutions were included in the Inuit society through attempts to assimilate them with mainstream Westernized society (Dorais, 1997). These elements all combined to create changes to

individual and group identity. Identity is a construction of several factors which include sex, age, name, lifestyle, ideas, and language. This construct comes together for the individual as a personal identity, and for the community group as a collective identity (Dorais, 1997). Cultural alienation is a process whereby alienation, which is "...the breakdown of the natural interconnection between people" (Ritzer, 1988, p. 22) has separated individuals in a given culture from the "...social stock of knowledge, symbols, and ideas" (p. 92) that integrate their particular cultural social world. Alienation from traditional identity has occurred at both levels of personal and collective identity for the Inuit. The incompatibility of the Westernized system with Inuit traditional values greatly disenfranchised the Inuit, yet left them with little recourse. The disempowerment encountered by Native individuals due to modernization and colonization may have created a backlash from Native individuals who have been forced to survive within an unfamiliar system of politics, religion, and justice (McMillan, 1995). Efforts are now being made to allow the Inuit increased direction in policy to regain control over their lifestyle and protection of their unique cultural heritage.

Self-Government

Two streams presently exist in Northern policy: "...one leading to cultural genocide or lesser levels of absorption of Inuit into southern culture, the other to home rule, self-determination, and cultural integrity" (Alia, 1994, p. 7). These two directions result from the conflict between Inuit and Westernized cultures. This disharmony demonstrates a need for Native self-government. Currently, Inuit desire the power to control decisions that affect their own nation. This need has been demonstrated as imperative through the disastrous consequences that the Inuit have encountered while

governed under federal policies (Purich, 1992). Presently, the Inuit population is attempting to reintegrate and protect their traditional heritage and distinct society. Efforts to regain power over the decisions affecting their people are being made through self-government policies.

On April 1, 1999, Nunavut became a new Canadian Territory (Legare, 1996). The name Nunavut, translates from Inuktitut as "our land" (Alia, 1994). The Nunavut territory will be an Inuit homeland. Through the creation of Nunavut, Inuit residents have elected their own government officials. Their self-government will control funding decisions about education, health, culture, language, housing, and justice, and allow representation of the Inuit in Parliament (Lanken, & Vincent, 1999). There will be a continuation of N.W.T. governmental polices until the Nunavut government is able to adequately investigate and develop its own infrastructure. With respect to corrections, the majority of current regulations fall under the former N.W.T. structure. During the coming years, revisions will be made in the creation of a system of justice that are in compliance with the Canadian Criminal Code, while simultaneously meeting the unique needs of the Inuit of Nunavut. Initially, the provision of funding for self-government initiatives will be supplemented by the federal government with hopes that the Inuit community will become self-sufficient (McInnes, 1983). Inuit members of government demonstrate confidence that self-government policies will increase the efficacy of intervention strategies with community problems such as crime, unemployment, suicide, and substance abuse. Priority will be placed on the Inuit's responsibilities as independents to solve their own problems and protect their culture and language (Amagoalik, Chairman of the Nunavut Implementation Commission). Self-government must be implemented

through an harmonious agreement to adhere to Inuit traditional values while coexisting in a larger Canadian culture.

Limitations of Current Research

Current research regarding Inuit offending behaviour and intervention strategies is extremely limited (Marenin. 1992). Investigations have focused on Aboriginal justice statistics. generated through census and survey data. and have failed to sufficiently analyze this information in the formulation of theoretical perspectives. Furthermore. little empirical data has been collected regarding outcome studies of the efficacy of Aboriginal cultural reintegration programming. Preliminary research has been conducted using an homogeneous classification of Aboriginal crime. such that Inuit offenders have been subsumed under the Native grouping. and are frequently underrepresented in such studies. The under-investigation of the Inuit has resulted in critical gaps of information that may inhibit the understanding of their criminal behaviour and its implications. Empirical investigations from the perspective of the Inuit culture appear essential in understanding criminal behaviour in the North (Griffiths. & Verdun-Jones. 1989). Through the utilization of knowledge gained directly from the Inuit. accurate understanding of the significance of culturally derived meanings. and the functionality of these symbols within the Inuit society will be facilitated. In order to most effectively address criminal behaviour of the Inuit population and their unique treatment needs. research must incorporate the lived experience and beliefs of those most directly involved in the correctional system in the North. Without empirical testing based upon the Inuit's perspective. researchers formulate results based on limited information that may lead to invalid outcomes. Furthermore. many studies have imposed the Westernized system of

values upon the Inuit and as such have rendered biases in their investigations (Kowalsky, Verhoef, Thurston, & Rutherford, 1996). Researchers must assert themselves to avoid cultural dogmas and conduct studies through lived experience in order to facilitate a clearer understanding of the Inuit population under investigation. As Inuit have undergone substantial changes to their traditional value systems, it is imperative to develop an understanding of how criminal activity interacts with cultural alienation within this society. Such information would greatly facilitate the rehabilitative processes of Inuit offenders, and strategies for the prevention of crime in the North.

Research Questions

The objective of the current study was to generate useful theory regarding Inuit criminal activity, through the use of qualitative principles. Such theoretical information would be beneficial in the development of efficacious rehabilitative and preventative techniques within the domain of corrections in Nunavut. Although hypotheses cannot be postulated in the process of theory formulation, Strauss and Corbin (1990) have suggested that investigators should formulate research questions that will allow the identification and in-depth exploration of the phenomenon of interest. The research questions will facilitate the creation of an interview protocol designed in terms familiar to the participants. As well, the initial research questions will be sufficiently broad as to allow for flexibility during the analysis of data. Yet, the original questions should provide a framework upon which the researcher can rely, for direction and clarification of concepts. In the present study, the formulation of research questions was guided by the investigator's review of the relevant literature, and her initial contacts with correctional staff at B.C.C. The research questions of the present study included:

1.) How do the experiences of family and community interact with criminal behaviour of offenders? How does cultural alienation interfere with the protective mechanisms provided by a supportive family network?

2.) What impact does cultural alienation and identity confusion have on Inuit offenders? How does this contribute to the nature of their criminal behaviour? Does this influence their attitudes and beliefs about women in the Inuit society? How might this interplay with abusive behaviour towards women of their culture?

3.) How does belonging to an Inuit society affect the offenders' relations with the *Qallunaat* (non-Inuit) and authority figures? Does this contribute to Inuit criminality? How do ethnic divisions influence criminal involvement of the Inuit?

4.) What benefits might the offenders derive from traditional knowledge and cultural reintegration programming? How does this challenge acts of recidivism and provide offenders with future aspirations upon completion of their sentence?

5.) How can offenders' accounts of their criminality, and experiences with the justice system, assist in the development of more efficacious and relevant rehabilitative treatment strategies? How can this information be best utilized to benefit the Inuit society?

CHAPTER II

Method

The Present Study

The objectives of the present research project, which emphasize the importance upon the individual's subjective experience, its subsequent interpretation, and theory development, necessitated the use of qualitative techniques. According to Kazdin (1998), the goal of qualitative research is to provide an interpretative and descriptive analysis of a natural experience through insight, whereas quantitative research seeks to test theories and hypotheses through causal relations or group differences. Therefore, the nature of the research being conducted compels the study of phenomena through an "interpretive, and naturalistic approach" (Denzin, & Lincoln, 1998, p. 2). Qualitative investigation allows the researcher to build an understanding of human or societal problems based upon information gathered within the natural setting (Creswell, 1998). This process facilitates the researcher in developing an understanding of complex interconnections within social systems. The information gathered is then analyzed in the creation of a "theory", which is a plausible explanation for a particular phenomenon. Qualitative data provides the researcher with rich information by which to formulate theories regarding the functioning of societal organizations and structures.

There are several streams of qualitative research, however, the researcher has selected the use of grounded theory for the present study. Grounded theory is a research methodology "grounded" in the reality of the individuals being studied that uses interpretive procedures to inductively develop a theory about a certain phenomenon. As developed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967, this theory is formulated on the premise that

qualitative data often provide the most efficient means by which to assess social situations (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). They created grounded theory, in contrast to the a priori methods of data analysis, stating that theory should be grounded in the data by focusing on the social interactions of the people being observed. Grounded theory was designed as a theoretical process which would continue to develop over time through "...a general method of comparative analysis" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 2).

According to grounded theory methodology, theories may be generated from evaluation of the data collected, or elaborated from previously developed theory. Theory is defined as the use of concepts refined through the active interpretation of similar data. Grounded theory research is designed to be systematic and follows a standard format through open, axial, and selective coding processes, followed by conditional matrix portrayal (Creswell, 1996). The result, a substantive-level theory, provides a comprehensive analysis of data collection and directions for future empirical testing of the phenomena. Although grounded theory was founded on a sociological background, its application is not discipline bound (Strauss, & Corbin, 1990). Its uses have been documented in education, nursing, psychology, social work and communication fields (Creswell, 1998; Strauss, & Corbin, 1994). Grounded theory also contributes to the ethnographic methodology practiced in anthropological study (Creswell, 1998).

This researcher selected grounded theory as the basis of this study for a number of reasons. Firstly, the assumptions and premises upon which grounded theory has been founded were congruent with the topic of the present study. Glaser and Strauss' suggestion that "...the theory should fit the data" (1967, p. 261), coincided with the present study's objective. As Inuit crime has been under-investigated, the present study

had few theoretical frameworks to follow, and thus, intended to understand Inuit criminal behaviour from a unique, cultural perspective. The utilization of previously developed theory extrapolated from all Aboriginal populations regarding criminal behaviour would have caused the researcher to base her ideas upon a notably dissimilar cultural and social structure (Glaser, & Strauss, 1967). Following data analysis, the researcher attempted to locate her theory within existing psychological and sociological meta-theoretical frameworks regarding culture, society, and individual identity. Secondly, grounded theory's systematic approach to data analysis facilitated the researcher's integration of the information gathered during the interview process. Through the data analysis, the researcher adhered to a set of topical coding strategies, whereby one could develop propositions and concepts upon which to formulate theory (Rennie, Phillips, & Quartaro, 1988; Strauss, & Corbin, 1994). This was of particular relevance in the organization of the vast and varied information pertaining to Inuit crime collected through the narratives. Lastly, the objective of theoretical development was of primary importance in grounded theory. This commitment allowed the researcher to develop theory regarding factors that create and support Inuit criminal involvement. Such theoretical development has been neglected for decades amongst the Inuit and may have significant impact regarding an understanding of the nature of criminal involvement in Nunavut.

Grounded theory primarily utilizes interviews and field observations, in addition to documented materials such as historical accounts, letters and autobiographies, as sources of data (Strauss, & Corbin, 1994). The present study relied primarily on interview techniques. The objective of the research interview has been defined as one that strives to unearth, "...descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to

interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena" (Kvale, 1996, p. 5). People communicate their ideas, experiences and beliefs chiefly through conversation. As such, interviews are interactional and "unavoidably collaborative" (Holstein, & Gumbrium, 1995) in nature. Under hermeneutic principles, interview processes are guided by the "...frame of reference of self-understanding as mediated within the culture" (Kvale, 1996, p. 51). The Inuit culture's linguistic communication is of a particularly oral tradition, which lends their expression of language to be participatory, and close to the human life world. Interviews provide rich sources of interpretive data about individuals' lived experiences.

Historically, research conducted regarding Aboriginal peoples has been originated primarily by White people (Kowalsky, Verhoef, Thurston, & Rutherford, 1996). Little consideration was given to the needs or concerns of the Native people when performing investigations with their population. Often the results and discussion of such studies were denigrating towards the Native culture, describing their existence as "primitive" or "prehistoric". Research has frequently criticized the Inuit for their failure to assimilate to Westernized ideals (Weston, 1976; Griffiths, et al., 1994). Furthermore, studies have questioned the integrity of the Inuit cultural heritage through deprecating their traditional religious and educational practices. It has been suggested that research, which is Native-directed, and relevant to the lived experience of the Aboriginal communities, would facilitate the research process (Kowalsky, et al., 1996). The interview technique was, thus appropriate for the present study in that Inuit participants were able to direct their responses towards issues which were of the most personal relevance. As well, Inuit have been under-represented in their opportunity to speak about and explain their perspectives.

with particular reference to their culture. Interview techniques facilitated the researcher's ability to explicate the research process to the Inuit inmates and gain entry, through conversation, into their lived experience.

Participants

Participants were selected from the inmate population at the Baffin Correctional Centre, in Iqaluit, Nunavut. Twenty-five offenders were interviewed, between the ages of nineteen and forty-three, with an average age of twenty-nine and a half years old. The offender population at B.C.C. is composed largely of residents of Iqaluit. However, there are a number of inmates who have been transported by air to B.C.C. from smaller communities, which fall within the Baffin region. There are thirteen communities within the Baffin region, with populations ranging from 130 to 3600. Of these, only Cape Dorset, Pond Inlet, Pangnirtung, Igloolik, and Iqaluit have over 1000 residents. These communities were formerly under the direction of Federal and Territorial government policies. Presently, they are governed under the self-government policies of Nunavut. Unemployment, suicide, substance abuse, and poor education are among the challenges faced by the Inuit of these hamlets. Community residents have expressed loss of culture and increasing dependency as preeminent issues of concern (Griffiths, et al, 1995).

For the present study, the subject pool has been restricted to Inuit offenders. This was to ensure that data pertained exclusively to the unique perspectives of the Inuit offenders. Inmate selection was also based upon age. Offenders between the ages of eighteen to forty-five were consulted for an interview. Selection based upon this age grouping targeted participants who are members of the Inuit population that had grown up

during the most significant period of cultural transformation. As well, age selection ensured that most of the participants could speak English fluently.

Measures

Background Information Sheet. Data was gathered pertaining to the inmates' recorded histories prior to conducting the interview (Appendix A). The inmates volunteered information pertaining to their criminal histories, relevant personal characteristics, and other basic demographic information. These data assisted the researcher in understanding the inmates' backgrounds prior to meeting for the interview. After the interviews had been conducted, with the inmates' permission, the classification officer at B.C.C. was consulted in order to verify the information provided by the offenders. The participants' responses to personal demographic information were demonstrated to be completely accurate.

Interview. The researcher conducted a semi-structured interview with the selected participants. Prior to the interview, inmates were informed regarding the study and its goals, and completed a consent form. The interview was designed as a number of open-ended questions that targeted three sectors of the inmates' lives. Appendix B provides the interview protocol that was utilized as a general template for the interview. The semi-structured design facilitated comprehensive responses on the part of the inmates. It also allowed the researcher to pursue avenues that are most relevant for a qualitative understanding of the Inuit participants' experiences.

The interview template was ordered such that questions pertaining to factual personal histories led into more emotionally salient questions, such as family background, traditional Inuit knowledge and criminal history. In the initial portion of the interview the

researcher asked participants about their community of origin, educational history, as well as extended and immediate familial relationships. These questions were designed to elicit information about the individual's childhood history and familial connectedness. More recent information was collected through questions that related to the individual's present family situation, including relationships with his wife and children.

The second section of the protocol sought information about traditional knowledge, spirituality, role identification as an Inuit person, and personal beliefs. These questions pertained to how much affiliation the offender has had with traditional Inuit knowledge, from whom they have obtained these skills, and how they have developed their belief systems. Inquiries attempted to facilitate an understanding of how much the individual identified with their role as an Inuit person, and to what extent this had shaped their personal identity. Issues of cultural alienation were targeted in order to determine if and how this process was reflected in their criminal histories. Personal belief questions were designed to gather information about the offender's attitudes and behaviours towards women, the White people, as well as substance use and abuse.

The last section of the protocol sought knowledge about the individual's criminal arrest and conviction history, in addition to their experience with the Justice System. These questions were integrated with inquiries regarding intervention and prevention strategies. This portion of the interview was designed to obtain information about the offenders' belief systems regarding criminal behaviour. Issues about the offenders' intended future plans were addressed. Suggestions were sought, on behalf of the offenders, to assist in the development of recommendations for more efficacious prevention and rehabilitation programs.

Procedure

The researcher applied for and obtained a Scientific Research License through the Nunavut Research Institute (Appendix C). The licensing process informed the community of Iqaluit about the research project being proposed, and was subject to the Hamlet Council's approval. The researcher also received approval from the B.C.C. (Appendix D) to conduct interviews with inmates on their premises. Funding for this project was granted through the Northern Scientific Training Program (Appendix E).

Inmates were informed of the interview process through notification within the prison facility and a general information session conducted by the researcher. This session, approximately one half hour in length, provided a brief description of the purpose, methodology, and participant's rights of the study. The researcher initially explained the structure of the interview process. Potential participants were informed that the researcher would complete a brief background summary sheet with them prior to the interview. It was noted that interviews would be conducted entirely in English and last between one and two hours. The inmates were told that appointments would be made for the interview session. As well, inmates were advised of the nature of information that would be gathered during the interview, and how it was to be utilized. It was emphasized that the inmates' participation was entirely voluntary and confidential. Outcome data of the study was to be shared with the prison facility without the disclosure of the inmates' identities. Audiocassettes and transcribed copies of the interviews would not be provided to B.C.C. It was emphasized that participation would in no way influence the length of one's sentence or eligibility for parole. Potential participants were encouraged to ask any questions they may have had at this point. At the conclusion of the presentation, inmates

were invited to participate in the interviewing process. Inmates who demonstrated an interest in participating were requested to sign a participation sheet, and were informed of their appointment time within one week.

Upon determination of an appointment date, the researcher met with the offender in a private room at the B.C.C. The room was secured, yet necessary precaution was given to the safety of the researcher. There was an emergency telephone in the interview room and the door into the room had a window that rendered the researcher and participant visible to a prison guard at all times. The participant was presented with a copy of the informed consent in both English and Inuktitut (Appendix F), which described the procedure of the study, the means by which confidentiality was ensured, and the participant's rights in the study. The consent form was read aloud in English by the researcher to the inmate. Participants were told that they may withdraw from the study at any time without repercussion. Confidentiality of the inmate was assured, except in the case of the offender demonstrating the intent to harm themselves or others. Such a situation was not encountered in any of the interviews, however, the appropriate authorities would have be notified had this occurred. The audio-recording of the session was described verbally, as well as in the consent form. Participants were notified that the cassette tapes would be transcribed word for word for analysis and that to protect confidentiality the tapes would be erased following the defense of the Master's thesis. It was emphasized that the information provided by the participants would be used to assist in improving rehabilitation programs from the inmates' perspectives. The participants were advised that B.C.C. would receive a report form of the study, although not the transcribed interviews, to facilitate this objective.

The participants were asked if they had any further questions. If the participant required additional information they were provided with the long version of the consent form (Appendix G). The researcher attempted to verbally explain any other questions. The researcher's policy was to respond to any questions that would not significantly influence the responses of the participant. If that participant requested information that may have affected their responses, they received an explanation of this policy and asked if they would discuss this further following the interview.

If the participant agreed to these conditions and desired to participate he was requested to sign two identical copies of the consent form. The participant retained one copy of the consent form for future reference, and one copy belonged to the researcher. The participant was asked if he wished to receive feedback regarding the results of the study upon completion. The researcher noted those inmates who desired information about the final results on the consent forms. After the consent form had been signed, the interview process was conducted. Participants were permitted to request a brief intermission if required. Following the interview, participants were fully debriefed. They were asked if they have any questions or concerns regarding the process. These issues were then addressed.

The researcher scheduled a follow-up appointment with each of the participants to receive feedback from them regarding participation and further comments on the project. In addition, preliminarily analysis was performed on select interviews and these participants were consulted in order to ensure that the researcher accurately perceived and understood their perspectives. This feedback allowed the offender to verify the correctness of the researcher's perceptions and add any information that may have been of

value. Follow-up interviews were subject to the same procedure as the first (i.e., audio-taping and participant's rights).

During data collection the researcher transcribed all materials from the audio-tapes to a secured computer base. Individuals were identified by a pseudonym to protect confidentiality. Participants had been requested during the interview to select their own pseudonyms. Audio-tapes were stored in a protected location and erased following the Master's defense.

Data Analysis

The narratives were coded according to processes outlined by Rennie, Phillips, and Quartaro (1988), as well as Strauss, and Corbin (1994). The analysis of the interviews utilized the "continuous comparative method" (Glaser, & Strauss, 1967), whereby the interpretation of data seeks to either prove a theoretical proposition or create a new theory. In this system, researchers are directed towards the systematic categorization of data and reservation of theorizing until patterns have emerged through this procedure. Thereby, this technique assures that the theory will fit the data. The systematic categorizing of data involves open, axial, and selective coding. Through open coding, the researcher assigned categories to each of the patterns that arose from the narratives through analysis. Each category was preserved, regardless of its perceived influence on theoretical development. In axial coding, the categories were analyzed according to the "paradigm model". Investigation of categories was conducted according to: (a) causal conditions; (b) centrality of the phenomena; (c) contextual components; (d) intervening conditions; (e) strategies utilized in responding to the phenomena; and (f) consequences of the phenomena. Throughout this process, categories were continuously

compared to the raw data to ensure that the suggested relationships accurately reflected the content of the data. Such procedures, involving constant verification of data, forced the researcher's interpretations to remain "...close to their data" (Rennie, Phillips, & Quartaro, 1988, p.141). Through selective coding, central "themes" were recognized based on the demonstrated linkages between higher and lower order categories. Less frequently mentioned categories were subsumed into the central theme classifications. Lastly, the perceived constructs behind central themes and their interplay were utilized to generate theory through conditional matrix portrayal.

Presentation of Data

The data gathered through this analysis have been presented in the order in which the participants discussed the various interview topics. The initial life experiences of the offenders, including those at school and within their home community, are recounted first. Following this are the four domains of substance use, family, culture, and employment that the inmates' had utilized in their personal descriptions. The offender's experiences with the justice system and recommendations for program revision to enhance the efficacy of rehabilitation and prevention strategies are presented next. Lastly, the participants' goals for their futures, primarily related to family, employment, and substance abuse, are discussed.

CHAPTER III

Results

Participants

For this project 25 offenders at the Baffin Correctional centre were interviewed. This represented approximately one third of the inmate population at B.C.C. during the summer of 1999. The participants of this project proved to be individuals who had been involved with criminal activity, as well as B.C.C. and the Nunavut Justice System, for many years. Of the individuals interviewed, 30% had been incarcerated once previously, 20% had been incarcerated two to four times, and 31% had been incarcerated five of more times. The current offense for which the offenders were being held or had been sentenced was primarily a personal crime (70%). These personal offenses were predominantly committed against a female victim who was known to the offender (92%), and were composed of physical assault (57%) and sexual assault incidents (36%). Furthermore, the nature of the offenders' previous offenses had frequently been personal (50%). The participants were each interviewed on one occasion, however, there was on-going contact with the interviewer within the prison setting. Interview duration ranged from 20 minutes to an hour and a half, with most approximately 45-50 minutes in length. For a summary of further demographic variables see Appendix H. Information is separated in the Appendix into categories of Remand and Population participants, as well as summed values for the Total participant grouping. It was determined for the purposes of the project that Remand and Population participants could be analyzed as a single group. When assessed with reference to current offense, previous criminal history, and factors leading to incarceration, each of which were areas relevant to central focus of this study,

the Remand participants were found to closely resemble the Population participants. Appendix H provides a rationale for the convergence of these two groups through demographic similarities.

Grounded theory analysis was performed on 20 of the 25 interviews that had been conducted. Selection was based upon comprehensiveness of responses and age of the participants. The researcher had taken the opportunity to interview Elders incarcerated at B.C.C., however, these individuals fell outside of the target age range, and therefore, did not represent the generation most influenced by cultural change. Other offenders had responded with one word or short answers. The interviews of these participants were not conformable to thematic analysis. Percentages provided for themes and categories are derived from the 20 interviews utilized in the grounded theory analysis.

Percentages Provided

The percentages provided throughout the analysis section are representations of the information volunteered by the offenders, not an agreement/disagreement dichotomy. Although such statistics are valuable in understanding the structure of themes and categories, it is important to accurately understand the meaning of these percentages. As the interviews were semi-structured in format, the participants were encouraged to offer responses based on their experiences and personal beliefs. Percentages were derived from the number of participants who had endorsed a particular theme or category. Thus, a percentage of 25% does not indicate that 75% of the participants disagreed or differed in their opinion. Instead, this indicates that 75% of the participants did not offer a response which conformed within that particular theme or category. One must consider the percentages given within this contextual meaning instead of in terms of how statistical

values would traditionally be utilized. The only information gathered through a structured format has been compiled within the demographic table.

Variability

The frequencies with which themes emerged as within the narratives, and context of life experiences has been provided in Appendix I. This Appendix provides values for the Total group of participants, as well as those broken down into Population and Remand. It is important to note that although certain themes have been evidenced as central to some of the individual narratives, each of the themes arose within the context of the participants' experiences to varying degrees. To illustrate this, the frequencies of thematic content within the domains of family and cultural experience have also been listed in Appendix I. It should be noted that this frequency value was an indication of the offenders' experience of that theme within the particular life areas of family and culture, and not necessarily as central to their narratives. Central themes were determined as those which emerged with the greatest frequency and most importance within the individual narratives. There appears to be minimal systematic variability based on differences in inmate status (Remand or Population), or age. Yet, it is important to recognize that inherent limitations exist in the small number of narratives gathered and semi-structured format of the interviews. Although there does not appear to be evidence of thematic differences within the two different prison groups, individual differences between inmates were apparent. Investigation based upon these discrepancies would be justified, however, will not be conducted in this study. There were sufficient commonalties in thematic content of the narratives from the inmate population to merit theoretical formulations.

Category, Subcategory, and Theme Structure

Categories and subcategories have been arranged in a semi-chronological order. The initial section of the analysis has traced the offenders' childhood educational and community experiences. Following, the categories and subcategories have been organized through the offenders' personal descriptions. It appeared that the offenders' definitions of themselves were based around four main domains including alcohol and/or drug use, family, culture, and employment. Lastly, the categories and subcategories fell into the offenders' current experience within the justice system and their recommendations for improvement of rehabilitation programming at B.C.C. Central themes have been contained within each of these categorical structures. Appendix J provides a brief description of the categories and themes, as well as illustrates each with a response that was judged to be characteristic within the offenders' narratives. Furthermore, categories have been organized in a hierarchical manner, with categories such as, "Education", encompassing subcategories such as "Powerlessness and alienation in school". Direct quotations have been extracted from the inmates' interviews for the purposes of illustrating and confirming the categorical, as well as thematic structure. The numerical values that follow each of these quotes represent the specific interview from which this information was drawn.

Central themes have been differentiated from categorical and subcategorical structures. As such, categories and subcategories were defined as the lower-order, concrete life events described by the offenders. The central themes were selected to represent the higher-order, emotional experiences that emerged through the analysis of the categories and have been identified within the categorical structure. The frequency with

which these themes appeared as most central to the narratives are as follows: Alienation (75%), Powerlessness/Helplessness (50%), Inability to Control/Frustration (40%), Low Self-value (40%), and Abandonment (35%). When assessing the appearance of themes within the narratives, yet not necessarily as the most central component, the themes were manifested with the following frequencies: Alienation (80%), Powerlessness/ Helplessness (75%), Inability to Control/Frustration (70%), Low Self-value (65%), Abandonment (55%). These terms have naturally arisen in the analysis of the narratives. It has been recommended that themes are descriptive, such that the "...name of the [theme] closely reflects the language used by the respondents" (Rennie, Phillips, & Quartaro, 1988, p. 143). The emotionally salient material presented through the inmates' interviews has been integral in the selection of theme nomenclature. The themes of Inability to Control/Frustration and Powerlessness/Helplessness fit closely together, and in some instances overlap considerably. However, the researcher judged that each theme had provided distinct contributions in other examples, and did not necessarily represent the same phenomenon. Instead, it would be suggested that experiences of Powerlessness/Helplessness were translated by the participants, through emotional processes such as hurt and anger, into perceived Inability to Control/Frustration. Abandonment occurred in fewer narratives, yet was considered as a central theme that arose specifically in the context of participants who had lost a significant figure in their lives (i.e., parent or sibling). As many inmates' had been survivors of the death of a family member, Abandonment had significantly impacted the lives of several participants. Low Self-Value occurred as a central theme across the narratives, primarily as the end result of negative life situations, and destructive coping strategies. Alienation appears to

be the most central theme, arising as the most pervasive focus in the majority of narratives. Processes of alienation are apparent throughout the lives of the offenders, including educational, familial, correctional, and most significantly cultural experiences. As a result of its relative frequency as a central theme, Alienation would be suggested as the most central component of the inmates' lived experiences as described through the narratives. The quotations from the interviews that follow the categories and subcategories are provided to illustrate the content of the individual categorical/subcategorical groupings. Thus, these quotes may not always depict each of the central themes that emerged within the categorical structure.

Summary of Theory

The theory that arose from these narratives focused upon the Inuit offenders' loss of traditionally defined roles, and their subsequent difficulty in forming coherent cultural and personal identities. The offenders, as a group, had endured and witnessed significant emotional trauma throughout their lives, including various forms abuse, abandonment, and racial discrimination. Consequently, such negative experiences engendered the belief in the participants that they were powerless to control events in their own lives. Coupled with processes of cultural alienation and the absence of positive role models, the offenders were unable to construct clear definitions of their appropriate roles, both within their communities and families. Ultimately, the participants had been rendered helpless, and became entrapped in a position of "societal limbo". Upon their entry into adulthood, the offenders had already been initiated into and begun to utilize destructive coping behaviour, such as substance use and aggressive behaviour, to escape from chaotic life situations. Such patterns were initially useful for dealing with emotional pain, primarily

hurt and anger, yet over time perpetuated difficulties in the offenders' lives. Instead of providing a solid framework from which the offender could derive personal meaning, drinking and drug use frequently resulted in the commission of crimes and ensuing incarcerations. The offenders were, thereby further marginalized from their Inuit society and the cultural resources imperative to the development of their identity. The perpetuation of this described "cycle of destruction" will occur if the unique issues faced by the Inuit are not addressed. The offenders' narratives were suggestive of their search for efficacious strategies that would enable them to commence personal growth and eventually establish a strong, and comprehensive individual, as well as cultural identity. It is believed that the incorporation of recognized counselling programs with the reintegration of cultural knowledge are integral in the facilitation of this objective.

Education

Educational difficulties have played a significant role in shaping several of the inmates' present life situations. Although many inmates spoke proudly of their academic experiences, only one of the individuals had graduated from high school and three had completed their diploma through adult upgrading. Of the offenders who had not finished school, ten quit between grades five and eight, while nine quit during high school. In the sections that follow are the participants' accounts of their experiences in the educational system.

Powerlessness and alienation in school

During elementary school several of the participants experienced physical and/or sexual abuse from teachers or parents (35%), behaviour problems at school (40%), and interpersonal difficulties with peers or teachers at school (15%). The offenders reported

that generally they had enjoyed attending school. However, the hardships they encountered through maltreatment by parents and teachers made it difficult for them to continue their education. Although the problems experienced throughout public schooling by the participants were varied, the central theme was one of *powerlessness/helplessness*.

> "My father and mother were drinking all the time, everyday. So, I couldn't sleep at night. They can't wake me up in the morning, and no breakfast for me and lunch and supper...I used to have dirty clothes and used to go to school all the time hungry...I used to be really happy from school going home, and came there my dad and my mom arguing and beating up my mom...that's really hard" (15).

> "...when I was going in school everything was okay to me but...there was one teacher who came in...used to assaulted me and that's why I thinking about him...I'm not like that. I don't want to be like that, like him" (22).

> "...Before the teachers had too many rules. They gave us a little bit of hard times, like hitting us and that...It wasn't my first language so it was kind of hard" (3).

The abuse experienced by the participants detrimentally impacted many of their academic pursuits. The offenders were unable to control how others treated them at school and home, thus through attempts to protect themselves from personal harm the completion of their education was compromised. The reasons for quitting school were varied, including family problems (70%), decision to seek paid employment (20%), and refusal to endure abuse at school (15%). Often the decision to quit school was reflected upon with regret, yet at the time the participants reported feeling as if there was no other alternative. The sacrifice of academic goals represented one of the offenders' first encounters with the central themes of *powerlessness/helplessness* and *alienation*.

> "My father used to beat me up for no reason...I used to go home happy from school...I tried to give them everything I made from school...I remember my father just ripped them up, put them in the garbage, giving me shit...'Why are you bringing this for?'...After that, started being really hard to learn the school...Cause, it's just hard" (15).
>
> "When I didn't finish my math test [the teacher] used to spank us...like he used to get mad at us...That's the reason I dropped out" (5).
>
> "Ever since my brother died, I dropped out of school, cause it got too hard for me. Cause I been thinking about him...He's been helping me with my homework ever since I was at least six, seven years old. So, ever since he passed away...I said, 'Enough of this. I'll go back to school next year, if it's possible'" (17).
>
> "Like every time I go to school my...uncle used to call and tell the teacher [for me]...to go back home and go out in land and I decided to do more hunting...instead of going to school" (19).

Education is vital

When speaking about the importance of education, all of the inmates supported the belief that education is "vital" to the survival of the Inuit. This opinion focused on the theme of *hope for the future*, especially when relating to the Inuit children. Several reasons were given by the offenders in the explanation of why higher academic training had become a necessity in the Inuit culture. Many inmates endorsed the belief that education has become integral to attaining a good job and earning money (65%). With the implementation of Nunavut, several of the participants felt that education would be important not only to live, but also to build a better future for generations in the new territory (40%). Furthermore, many of the inmates have aimed to instill educational values within their own children (25%), through encouragement to complete high school and pursue post-secondary education. The offenders indicated that over recent decades educational policies have improved significantly. Discipline, course material, and teacher training have become more regulated, thus the school system is less abusive and more

compassionate to the needs of Inuit students. Therefore, it should be easier to continue schooling in present times.

Communities of Origin

The participants were from twelve different communities. Populations of the offenders' home communities ranged from approximately 700 to 3500 residents. When asked to describe their hometown, the offenders utilized four different domains. Most frequently mentioned was the use and availability of alcohol in their home community (45%). The offenders primarily indicated that there was "too much booze". Others commented on the need for activities in their community (40%). Several of the offenders described their hometown as "boring" with "not much to do". Some of the participants reported that an important aspect of returning to their home community upon their release from B.C.C. is that they "know everybody" and have built a strong support network (30%). Lastly, many of the participants described their hometown in terms of economic and employment opportunities (25%). Several of the inmates anticipated growth in their communities in the years to come through increased tourism brought about by the birth of Nunavut. Following is the description of one offender's beliefs about the potential created for Inuit through the development of Nunavut.

> "I think it's good...for the North because...we are finally getting some economic opportunities for most Inuit who were just sitting on the side lines for a long time now. They are probably going to start some ventures that they only thought about doing in the past...We are the present Nunavut government. [The Inuit will think] more positively and optimistic in their quest for economic gains, from the government or more contracts or more work" (1).

Describing Oneself

Describing oneself appeared to be a difficult task for the participants. When asked how they would describe themselves, several inmates (55%) initially responded with, "I

don't know...What do you mean?" Most had difficulty formulating a description of themselves, suggested by long pauses, and hesitations while responding. Overall, the offenders described themselves and their experiences along four major areas, including alcohol and/or drug use, family, cultural connection and employment. Each of these areas provided concrete and tangible references to "who they are", instead of utilizing personality characteristics or adjective terms to refer to oneself. Following are the four categories of descriptions that the offenders provided of themselves.

Alcohol and drug use

Drunk vs. sober "me". Alcohol abuse was the most frequently used category when describing oneself (60%). Two major dimensions were reported regarding alcohol abuse, personal difficulties (60%) and familial problems (35%). Accounts of alcohol use, while depicting oneself, often involved a dichotomy of how the individual acted when sober opposed to when they were intoxicated (20%). These offenders used positive terms, such as "nice", "kind" and "helpful" to describe themselves when sober. When intoxicated, they utilized negative descriptors, explaining that they became a "different person", who was "angry" and "mean". Some offenders reported that personal alcohol use was their primary weakness (20%). These inmates related their alcohol abuse to getting into trouble and being sent to jail for aggressive behaviour when drunk. This subcategory fell into the central themes of *inability to control/frustration* and *low self-value*.

> "I'm good at a lot of things. Like, when I'm sober...I help out a lot of kids and I try to help Elders [at home] and other communities. I go fishing. I go hunting. Like, when I am drunk I'm a different person. I get into a lot of fights and a lot of trouble. That's only main time I ever end up in jail is when being drunk, that's it" (13).

> "I'd describe myself as an aging inmate who probably should have known better than what he did [assault under the influence] to get himself in here... Outside of here, I tried to behave in a manner that was acceptable to most of society" (1).

Inability to control use. Alcohol and drugs were commonly used substances amongst the participants (90%). Sixteen offenders admitted to both alcohol and drug use (primarily hash and marijuana), one offender endorsed only alcohol use, and another endorsed only drug use. Overall, the offenders believed that they had a problem with their alcohol and drug use patterns (70%), although only two of the participants described themselves as suffering from an "addiction". The participants reported frequent attempts to control their use of alcohol or drugs yet to no avail. Upon consuming alcohol, or smoking hash/marijuana, the offenders believed they were unable to stop. One offender explained, "...like when I am drinking, I drink too much, until I finish all the liquor. So, I don't want to do it anymore" (3). The offenders reported feeling frustrated by their perceived inability to control drinking or drug use. Eventually, following repeated efforts to quit using substances, the offenders viewed themselves as a failure. Substance abuse issues were central to the theme of *inability to control/frustration*.

> "But more often than not, I wind up blacking out...after all my intention of saying that I was only going to have a couple before I went out. So, I think I'm one of those [people] that one is not enough" (1).

> "I did try to quit drinking, lots of times. Except I always keep, keep, keep drinking" (21).

> "I just have problems with my drugs. I've been trying to quit a few times, but it's just too hard. People around you keeps taking it" (8).

Substance use to have fun. All of the participants who reported substance use problems said that they had begun drinking, toking, or sniffing in early adolescence (85%). Alcohol was typically stolen from the offenders' parents, and drugs were bought

from local dealers. During this period of their lives, some of the participants explained that substance use was fun, helping to make them "happy" and "enjoy life" (70%). Others reported having been influenced by peer pressure (30%), following parental role models (20%), or having had exposure to substance use in many different environments (10%). Early experimentation with substances represented efforts by the offenders to control their environments. As such, the subcategory "substance use to have fun" falls within the central theme of *inability to control/frustration.*

> "If I didn't grow up where my parents were alcoholics, I wouldn't take drugs or alcohol. And I wouldn't have any problem right now" (15).
>
> "Depending on what kind of past you had or how you were brought up...If you were brought up in a place where there was alcohol abuse...when you were growing up, you'd tend to think it's normal. Like, you start doing it" (2).

No one cares. Moreover, some of the participants felt that in adolescence no one cared if they used substances (30%). The narratives of many of the offenders' indicated that few adults had attempted to intervene in their substance use behaviour when the participants were young. Some of the offenders' parents knew about their child's substance use, yet promoted continued use by offering free drugs or inviting their child to "party" with them. Other offenders believed they could receive positive role model support from school, yet were encouraged to buy illicit substances from teachers who sold drugs at school.

> "When they smoking joint, they used to let my, my dad used to blow to my nose and my mouth after drag from a dope and uhh...after that I started crying and I was a baby" (15).
>
> "The parents always going home drunk or taking the drugs in front of you, then...the kids are going to do the same things when they grow up...it keeps going and going" (8).

Substance use to escape. Even during their adolescent years, several offenders had used alcohol or drugs to escape from life's problems (40%). Many individuals did not want to deal with the fear and difficulty of thinking about past abuse issues. The effects of alcohol and drug use numbed their brain for a period of time. While intoxicated or stoned the offenders reported being unable to concentrate on the parts of their history that upset them and instead were able to "relax". Mind-altering substances were commonly used in this context to "dull the pain". Upon reflecting about current drinking and drug use patterns, the participants reported their reasons for continued use were quite similar to those when they were younger. Several of the participants explained that when confronted with difficult life situations, such as death of a loved one or separation from a girlfriend, they had learned to drink or smoke drugs to avoid dealing with the situation. Furthermore, the offenders had extended their drug and alcohol use to escape from consequences of their behaviours, such as fighting or sexual promiscuity. This relates to the central theme of *inability to control frustration*.

> "Well, since I broked up with my common-law...I started drinking very heavily. For two years, I've been drinking very heavily. Mostly everyday. Drinking. I was frustrated. I had too many things on my mind. I wanted to get back and she didn't want me back" (10).

> "I started sniffing when I was very young and...I was just following the other kids...looking back, I realize it was my way of escaping the fear I may have had ...Today, it's just the addiction I have to fight against" (4).

> "I just keep smoking and sometimes I feel like...I rarely want to quit! I just mean that [the abuse] keeps going back to my mind sometimes...I have to smoke to get...rid of it on my mind" (22).

Problems are still there. Many of the offenders endorsed that although substance use had initially been "fun", over time their problems had escalated (70%). After getting drunk or stoned, the offenders reported at first "feeling good", yet later this changed to

feeling "...embarrassed and not as alive" (1). Most of the offenders endorsed that using substances temporarily allowed them to forget their problems. The offenders' initial intention, to use alcohol and drug use as an escape from their problems, was unsuccessful. Intoxication and being high was hoped by the offenders to offer permanent solutions, however, the inmates frequently encountered more difficult situations resultant of substance use. One offender explained, "...sometimes I do it because maybe I'll forget about my problems for awhile. But in the end, they always come back" (2). When considered in this context, substance abuse contributes to the central theme of the participants' *powerlessness/helplessness*.

> "...Once I had [alcohol], seems like I didn't want to stop until I was, like, I didn't know what I was doing and...{Why do you think you would do that?}...Problems. Key to my door to escape...but I know now it was wrong" (9).

> "It's mostly like trying to...when you start remembering things, that you try to get away from them and that's mostly the way to mostly get away from them" (11).

> "When I take drugs I think a lot about what happened in the past, getting beat up by cousins and all that. It makes you want to pay them back or my step-father abusing my mother...seeing my parents drink when I was a little kid, drink a lot" (8).

"Out of control". Several inmates reported that substance use has had a significant impact on their behaviour (75%). Most of the offenders reported that alcohol and drug use primarily caused them to become "out of control" (50%). Participants reported that substance use changed them into a "different person", and causing the inmate to "lose contact with themself". Offenders stated that they would engage in behaviours and make choices that they would not consider when sober. One inmate explained, "I do things that I don't normally do. Umm...stuff, I don't want to talk about" (12). Three of the offenders described how alcohol and drug use results in "laziness" and

a feeling of "burn-out". Primarily, the effects of being intoxicated or high were reported to be negative. The participants believed that without substance problems in the North many of the inmates at B.C.C. would not be in prison: a majority of the offenders had committed crimes while high or intoxicated (75%). Primarily, the nature of these offenses had been physical assaults against women. Issues related to domestic violence, including offender intoxication, will be addressed in the subcategory regarding alcohol and the abuse of women. Through the appraisal of oneself as a "drunk", and evaluation of the consequences of alcohol abuse in one's life, many of the offenders devalued themselves which was pivotal to the central theme of *low self-value* and *inability to control/frustration.*

> "When I'm drunk, I'm a really bad person. I guess, it changes my mood. I'm different, it's like I'm somebody else. Like there's somebody inside me, you know? Like an evil person. When I'm sober, I'm a nice person" (13).
>
> "...made me quit school. All the things that I planned to do, I never ended up doing them" (18).
>
> "I've been going to jail now because of alcohol. Like, every time I come, it's got to be alcohol. I never end up in jail for being sober. I never done that, just for being drunk" (13).
>
> "...I was on Antabuse drugs for awhile and I quit taking them and I went right back to just that one night. Ended up drinking, ended up blacking out and I woke up in the cell, wondering, 'What am I doing in jail?'" (13).

"Waste of money". Many participants were concerned about the money that they had spent on drugs and alcohol. Both substances are extremely expensive in Nunavut. For example, a 60-ounce bottle of vodka, which would cost 45 dollars to purchase in the South, could be sold in excess of 150 dollars in Iqaluit. Some of the offenders reported spending a large portion of their earnings on or trading carvings for the purchase of alcohol or drugs. One of the participants stated, "Used to drink everyday and smoke everyday...when I had U.I.C. cheques...I used to buy nothing but drugs and booze" (19).

Moreover, this left the participants feeling distressed about their inability to control substance use behaviour and financially strained in providing for themselves and family. This led the offenders to question their personal worth and fell directly into the central themes of *low self-value* and *inability to control/frustration.*

> "...I used to get what I want, like skidoo or gun...I used to get those. But when I'm in drugs, what's wrong with me? When I get money I just get drugs, nothing but drugs...It's waste of money to me" (22).

> "Sometimes when I am using it, it used to make me happier, looks like... But after using, it's useless. It's like wasting quite a lot of money" (5).

Furthermore, the purchase of alcohol and drugs was reported by the participants to cause financial strain for many Inuit. Some inmates described families that spent the majority of their income on alcohol (20%). One offender reported that as the open purchase of alcohol is illegal, many Inuit believe that they must buy the alcohol when it is available. Government policies restricting the sale of alcohol were criticized by several of the offenders as such regulations caused a sense of urgency in the purchase of alcohol or drugs. The central theme of *powerlessness/helplessness*, was apparent in this subcategory as government policies stipulated that Inuit were unable to monitor their own alcohol consumption, and thus, must be limited in their opportunities to purchase liquor.

> "It's hard for us, cause of all the alcohol coming into town and the money's hard but everybody buys it, cause it's...take it or leave it. Chance. Like if you don't [buy it], it's gonna be gone anyways so you just got to buy. Seems like alcohol...prices are getting higher every year" (17).

Disintegration of family. Many of the offenders stated that family problems amongst the Inuit were largely the result of alcohol and drug abuse (40%). Several of the participants reported that children were neglected while their parents spent time drinking. Neglect was evident in a number of forms, including failure to buy groceries, physical abuse and emotional maltreatment. One offender reported an episode of child abuse that

led to Children's Aid involvement and subsequent adoption of the child away from the alcohol-abusive family. Furthermore, by allowing the children to witness alcohol and domestic abuse, this behaviour may be perpetuated in future generations. This subcategory was not centrally linked to the major themes as it described the offenders' experiences as part of the Inuit culture instead of their personal experiences. However, the central themes of *abandonment*, *powerlessness/helplessness*, and *alienation* were indirectly linked to this subcategory.

> "It affects a lot, cause there's so many Inuit people in town drinking more than spending time with their kids during the night, like evening...and when other people's on welfare, when they're barely buying groceries for the kids" (6).

> "Like, see in young families there are little kids starving...go hungry because their parents buy some liquor or some drugs...and they should have bought some food instead" (3).

> "I tried telling my cousin sometimes, 'Quit drugs! Take care of your kids. Don't let them look while you are fighting or doing drugs. Don't let them look!' That's no good for them. When they're looking, they're learning" (22).

Substance use shaping one's identity. According to the participants' narratives alcohol and drug use have had a tremendous effect upon the identity of the Inuit. All of the individuals interviewed believed that alcohol and drugs were negatively affecting the Inuit communities of Nunavut (100%). Substance abuse has created and exacerbated a number of highly destructive social problems in the North, including violent behaviour, family disintegration, and criminal activity. The substance abuser, as well as their family and friends were suffering the devastating consequences of the alcohol and drug misuse. There was an imminent fear expressed by the inmates that alcohol and drug abuse was growing at a dangerous rate. Therefore, substance use not only presently affected Inuit but also posed a significant danger for future generations. Consequently, the problems

currently encountered as a result of alcohol and drug abuse were suggested by the inmates to continue to rise in years to come.

Furthermore, the participants stated that the abuse of alcohol in Northern communities is causing the Inuit to ignore life on the land, and the importance of family. Thus, alcohol use is challenging the Inuit's connection to traditional knowledge and value systems, specifically through a loss of interest in hunting and the outdoors. In an attempt to escape from life trauma, Inuit individuals are relying on baleful coping strategies, which in turn has caused them to become further marginalized from the cultural knowledge that would facilitate their healing. On a more individualistic level, alcohol and drug use, according to the inmates, has caused the Inuit to forget about the development of their own identities. One inmate explained that continuous drinking patterns cause alcohol abusers to "...not care about themselves or their own lives" (9). Alcohol use was expressed by the offenders to have engendered a disregard for familial responsibilities, as well as pride in personal identity and growth. Within the context of ignoring oneself and one's culture, alcohol and drug abuse contributed directly to the central themes of *alienation* and *low self-value*.

> "Some of them tend to forget more about themselves and what they are. Some of them just drink, on and on. Not give a shit anymore about life or anything. So, [alcohol use] definitely affects these people's lives up here" (9).

> "I see people who are affected [by alcohol]...and those who are affected more are sometimes accused of being alcoholics or lazy Inuks and ignorant in some cases...not knowing any other life than to drink" (1).

The cycle of substance use. Some of the offenders suggested that the effect of alcohol or drugs on their lives has created a cyclical and destructive pattern (35%). Firstly, alcohol or drugs had been used to cope with the offenders' problems. Upon

intoxication negative behaviour, for example beating up their common-law, resulted in the generation of more problems. In addition, the effects of long-term alcohol or drug abuse had begun to cause physical deterioration of the inmates' bodies. Thus, in the attempt to cope with previously existing problems through drinking, new problems were created and the cycle was perpetuated. Many of the offenders reported feeling unable to stop this cycle. As continued drinking and the resultant negative cycle have been evidenced in the lives of many of the inmates', this subcategory is entwined with the themes of *low self-value, powerlessness/helplessness* and *inability to control/frustration.*

> "I have since realized that it affects my behaviour in all negative things. And all negative things that have happened to me have been caused by drinking" (1).

> "Like when you take too much and don't know what you are doing anymore, I think it ruins everything. It ruins everything about who you are and what you are. It's just...for some people, it's just destroying their bodies in some way" (9).

How to fix the cycle. Several of the participants reported that substance abuse was likely to be an on-going problem for the Inuit which would be very "difficult to fix" (40%). Some of the participants had suggestions of how to change substance abuse patterns in the North. However, the offenders' beliefs on the amelioration of the problems incurred through alcohol and drug consumption differed drastically from each other. Some of the inmates believed that the government should "ban the booze" (15%). These offenders planned to move to "dry reserves" upon their release. Conversely, some of the individuals felt that the Inuit should be encouraged to learn how to drink socially (20%). Lastly, another offender explained drinking as a balance in which alcohol use could be controlled and considered sociable as long as the individual consuming alcohol evaluated "...the amount they drank [based upon their] equation for drinking" (1). These

offenders' optimistic attitudes about the opportunity to control substance abuse in the North fell into the general theme of *hope for the future*.

> "I wish there was no alcohol around in the communities. I sure would like to see everybody sober and happy. I think that would be really nice" (13).

"Sober and happy". Many of the offenders were hopeful about altering the negative role that alcohol and drugs had played in their lives by modifying their use of substances upon their release. Several offenders intended to abstain from alcohol and drugs. Those who did not plan to quit completely reported a desire to control their substance use behaviour. Many of the offenders stated that they had made a promise to their common-law to quit drinking while others planned to move to "dry-reserves". Furthermore, some recognized their need for substance abuse intervention and wished to seek help within their community upon returning home. As the participants did not view their future drinking or drug use patterns with discouragement, this subcategory fell into the central theme of *hope for the future*.

> "I know I still could quit taking drugs and drinking because I quit before sniffing gas. I really want to quit drugs. And I don't know how, but I still need help about that" (22).

Family

Role as a family member. Many offenders described themselves in terms of their families, both immediate and extended (45%). Several of the participants indicated that their parents, brothers and sisters, as well as grandparents had been highly influential in their lives and described themselves in regards to their role as a son, uncle or cousin (20%). Others described themselves in their immediate family role as a father or common-law (20%). Family influences were described as both positive and negative. Benefits derived from family included the provision of a supportive network and positive

role models (50%). as well as cultural instruction (35%). Problems with family included alcohol and violent/physical abuse (50%). as well as deaths in the family (25%).

Responsibility to your children. Overall. the participants indicated that a good relationship with one's parents is very important in the Inuit culture. Several participants indicated that they had a good relationship with both their mother and father (35%). These individuals reported that their parents had been involved in their life through providing emotional support and being positive role models (50%). as well as teaching them traditional Inuit skills (25%). These participants explained that their fathers (30%) and mothers (25%) had given them a strong background in Inuit cultural knowledge through the instruction of hunting. outdoor survival skills and carving.

> "Today. I realize he loves me just as much as when I was young...My father hardly ever spoke to me and I [believe] it was his way of teaching me to be independent and learning from my own self...and my mom taught me everything about Inuit culture and tradition and the myths and the stories. A lot of it was educational thinking now" (4).

> "And my [grand]father used to tell us story about olden days and...he used to teach me how to hunt with a harpoon. not with a gun...I used to use a gun...but my [grand]father used to tell me. 'Use harpoon instead'. Cause seal meat when you shoot it with a gun doesn't taste like seal meat. When you kill with a harpoon it got more taste. I was his tutorial. That's why I tried my best to hunt with harpoon" (22).

> "It was great. It was fun. They taught me lots of things. Like. they taught me from how they grew up. how they lived in the past and all the things that's been changing every decade. I mean. every decade they been teaching all this stuff step-by-step. They told me to take it one day at a time. So. I been trying to do that. They taught me lots of things" (17).

The inmates also described how having good parents and a positive upbringing caused them to pay attention to their methods of parenting. Many of them stated that they wanted to offer their children what they had given to them in their childhood. As a result of alcohol problems and their incarcerations. these inmates felt frustrated because they

had not met up to their personal expectations of their parenting role. This subcategory contributed to the central theme of *inability to control/frustration.*

"Without knowing your family, it's hard". Some of the offenders explained that their relationship with one or both of their parents had not been good (50%). Five of the offenders indicated that they hardly knew their mother and five reported the same about their father. It is important to note that these are not all the same individuals, as some offenders were raised by a lone parent (30%), most often their mother, or adopted by their grandparents or relatives (25%). The participants who had little contact with one of their parents suggested that their biological parent was the person with whom they would like to build a closer relationship. Most frequently the offenders' rationale for attempting to have contact with their "real" parent was to demonstrate that they had managed to succeed without the guidance of this parent in their life, as well as to make amends for their lengthy separation. This subcategory, with the evident lack of involvement of one or both parents in the participants' lives, was central to the theme of *abandonment.*

> "And I never seen my natural father, since seventeen years now. I had a chance to go see him this summer...I ended up in here so I lost the opportunity to meet my father...That's been kind of hard too for me, cause I was really hoping to see him, [to show him] that I have a son, that I kept. I'm keeping [my son] now cause it's hard...without knowing your natural father...I was really planning to go out hunting with him, to show him that I learned a lot even though I wasn't raised by him" (17).

Of the offenders who had been raised by at least one of their natural parents, several reported problems in their current relationships (25%). These participants reflected with grief and anger on the lost connection with their parents. A number of different issues arose when the participants spoke about family problems. Primarily, the resentful feelings described by the inmates regarded parental drinking, lack of responsibility (i.e., gambling or not buying food), and abandonment (i.e., not visiting or

leaving the offender with relatives when they were young). Many of the inmates had a difficult time explaining how they felt about their parents during their childhood and even presently. The central themes that arose related to poor parenting were of *alienation*, *powerlessness/helplessness*, and *abandonment*.

> "So, I always used to watch [my parents] fight. And when they were sober they'd argue [too] and all that. But my mother always was there for me. She'd give me money to eat when we had no food at home. My mother's been getting a job, quitting a job. Can't keep it. Quit then go to another job. There was always food for me though...my relatives, just go to my relatives place" (8).

> "I grew up when my parents were alcoholic...So, they didn't buy food all the time. So, me and my sister and my little brother used to go eat at my grandpa's...and run away a couple of time, me and my brother and sister, when we were little kids...I grew up watching beat up my mom by my father and...some things really hard to say...Police couldn't do nothing about it then. They used to give my parents warning all the time. It's just hard" (15).

Siblings. All of the offenders had at least one brother or sister and some had as many as ten siblings. Many of the offenders reported a continued close relationships with some of their siblings (65%). These offenders indicated that their siblings turn to them for support and provide the inmates with encouragement during difficult times. While growing up several of the offenders stated that they had assisted in raising their younger siblings (20%), or were raised by an older brother or sister (20%). This was especially likely to occur following the death of a parent. Another factor that influenced the relationship that the participants had developed with their siblings was either teaching cultural skills to a younger sibling or being taught by an older sibling. The offenders explained that they had learned much of their traditional knowledge through interaction with their older brothers and they had in turn instructed younger siblings.

> "I remember, I used to carry my youngest brother and sister in my back... I used to carry them in my pack. I always tell them, 'I'm the oldest son, eh?' ...I tried to teach my two youngest brothers how to hunt" (22).

> "It's different. Well, both of [my brothers] are great cause they try to give me advice, but two completely different brothers. One is sober and one is druggie and so, it's a balance I have to take and I have to be careful...I can trust the one and basically for me as a druggie and an alcoholic, I can rely on the sober one because he's been through it. He went from drunk to sober...and we've made amends to each other. We apologized to each other and we became close" (4).

> "I was close to one of them. But he's younger than I am, actually smarter than I am. He speaks Inuktitut a little better, better than I do anyways. If I have trouble saying something, I'll ask him. He knows how to speak it and he understands it...Used to remember, he was my favourite brother" (13).

Dissolution of sibship. Several of the offenders reported that their relationships with their siblings had been either poor throughout their life (20%), or disintegrated over time (25%). These offenders gave several reasons for the lack of closeness with their brothers or sisters. Those who had not developed a close relationship with their siblings from childhood reported that they had been separated from their sibling due to schooling, parental separation, or age. Others had been abused, most often physically, by their sibling as they were growing up. Those participants who had been close and have since grown apart from their siblings, most frequently indicated that alcohol abuse, and failure to visit had created the distance in their relationship. This subcategory of troubled sibling relationships was directly related to the central themes of *alienation* and *abandonment*.

> "When I was growing up I used to get in fights with [my sisters]...All I have is my sisters and my other cousins, which I don't really want to be around, cause they're mostly alcoholics. I have cut down for quite awhile now" (7).

> "Well, first of all I don't have any parents. I have an older brother...and I have a younger brother here. He lives in town. And we, me and my older brother, hardly call each other and my younger brother doesn't even come and visit me...and I lived with my brother. I grew up with my older brother ...I wish I was closer with my older brother, because I grew up with him and I hardly talk to him anymore" (10).

> "I didn't quite get along with them. Cause I hardly grew with them. They been mostly going to school in other communities. So, I never got along with them. Except my oldest brother that passed away" (17).

Loss through death. Several of the offenders had endured significant losses during their childhood or young adulthood (70%). Many of the offenders had lost one or both of their parents at a young age. At the time of the interviews, ten of the participants had lost their father figure (50%), and eight had lost their mother figure (40%) to death. Some offenders had also lost one of their siblings (15%). Such losses were reported to be very difficult life periods for the participants to endure. As indicated by the participants, the loss of their parent had caused a tremendous change in their role within the family. Often the inmate had to take on additional responsibilities (i.e., caring for younger siblings), cope with their surviving parent's reactions to the death (i.e., drinking), sacrifice learning traditional skills from their deceased parent, and move from their home communities. Following is a description of the changes in the life of one of the offenders following the death of his father.

> "When I was young, my father died. Right away, I was the head of the family, because I'm the oldest in the boys...I had to quit school in order to support my family...There was not too many [other] important things about being myself. That was about it" (3).

The offenders who had lost a significant family member described feeling "confused" and even "angry" at times when trying to understand why the person had left them. Many of these inmates reported that they had never been able to completely deal with the death of their loved one. The central theme that arose related to the context of death of a family member was of *abandonment*.

> "When my grandmother died, I couldn't believe what I hear. I mean what I heard...I never expect her to die, just like that, you know? That was very hard for me and sometimes I still think about her. Why did she die? And she was a lot to me...cause she used to tell me not to do bad things and about life...I used to like it" (22).

> "...plus I lost my brother a couple months ago. That's been hard too. All that time after my parents died, my oldest brother was taking care of me... all three of them died of cancer...I [been] trying to think who to hunt for.

> After I lost my brother and parents seems like I have no close relatives anymore. Cause when they were alive [there were] lots of people I would talk to. Ever since they passed away, seems like nobody cares for me now" (17).

> "I know my grandma. I miss her. She was teaching, telling me not to do bad things. But after she passed away, I started doing crime. And she was the only one saying, 'Don't do crimes. Don't do bad things.' Like, she looks like a mother to me too" (5).

Children of "alcohol-abused" families. When reporting family problems with alcohol, many of the offenders described how their childhood had been drastically impacted by their parents' drinking behaviours (45%). Some of the participants explained that alcohol abuse within their family had been the most significant factor in shaping and changing their lives. Primarily, these individuals indicated that their parents' alcohol abuse had influenced them to get into trouble with the law and experiment with substance use at young ages. Parental alcohol abuse patterns contributed to the central theme of *powerlessness/helplessness*.

> "When [my stepfather] died, my mother started drinking. I had to take care of my brothers when my mother's out drinking, playing gamble out there somewhere. Then my brothers were sent to social services. Then they asked me if I want to go social services or my grandmother's. I chose to my grandmother's. [When] my grandmother died, I was in Young Offender's" (8).

> "...people who would not have been here had they not been abused, or had got the things [abuse and neglect] that were there all the time when they were growing up" (1).

Devotion to family through current relationships. Some offenders described their immediate family as a positive influence on their life (25%), through the provision of "support" and "guidance". These inmates attributed that the relationship with their common-law wife and/or children was a positive impact on their life. The offenders were grateful to their partners for staying with them during their time in prison, especially after all the hardships caused by the abuse in their relationships. Furthermore, the offenders described their family as providing a stabilizing component in their life. Having a family,

for many of the participants, encouraged them to stay away from alcohol and/or drugs, maintain a job and develop a positive attitudes towards education. This subcategory fell into the general theme of *hope for the future*.

> "I'm just happy to be alive and happy to be with my...girlfriend that I've been with for ten years. And I'm really happy that she's supporting me while I'm here...Hopefully, things will work out better and life...will go on from there...I just know how lucky I am to have, still be able to be with her. After all the abuse that I've done [to] her, and I just know that she really loves me and she's there for me" (9).

> "I love her [now], maybe more than I did before I got arrested, because she has shown her deep devotion to me by staying with me, even with discouragements from her relations to discontinue the relationship after I am released" (1).

> "I have to say yes [that I still love her], because I believe she taught me. She's teaching me how to be independent. I have to learn from myself first, before I can learn from my other family...[She's] teaching me to be independent in a way that I understand my feelings, the senses...and beliefs and values... [that] I should learn...I take those very personally" (4).

Continuation of relationship with common-law wife. Many of the offenders recognized that they had taken their common-law wife for granted (55%). After having spent time in prison, several of the inmates felt that their love for their partner had grown stronger. Alcohol abuse, infidelity and physical violence were the most frequently mentioned difficulties encountered in marital/common-law relationships by the offenders. The offenders indicated that they felt responsible for many of the difficulties that had occurred. This contributed to the central theme of *low self-value*.

> "I was sober and I was away from drugs for ten months. I started drinking just last year. So, the trend between now and '95 has been all mixed up. When I was sober I was practicing communication and I thought it went really well. Compared to today, I am more...abusive" (4).

Two of the offenders had separated from their common-law wife while in prison. Sixteen of the inmates had maintained a relationship with the woman whom they had been with prior to their incarceration. The inmates who were still with their common-law

wife spoke to her as often as possible by phone and had tried to improve communication in their relationship. Several of the offenders indicated how they perceived their common-law wife felt about their incarceration. The offenders reported that their partners continued to miss and love them a great deal. The offenders explained that their common-law wives were "hurt" that they were in jail and "frustrated" by the offenders' perceived inability to stay away from alcohol. The women had also borne the responsibility of caring for the couple's children and home. Several of the offenders' partners had become "stressed out" while the inmates had been in prison. These inmates reported that their common-law wives were very excited to have them return home and start a new life together.

> "She can hardly wait for my release from the correctional. She wants me to get out and treat her like a normal partner. Not do the same kind of things that landed me in here" (1).

> "She's not really happy. Like, I'm in here and she really wants me home... She always says, 'I wish you were home, beside me, so you could help me out.' She finds it kind of difficult right now...to look after one child by herself... She's the one that's supporting everyone in the house. It's kind of hard for her" (13).

Several of the men recognized the toll that abuse had taken on the connection in their relationship and pledged that upon returning to their common-law wife they would try to repair the damage that had occurred and make their partner happy. Each of the offenders who intended to work on their relationship upon their release, emphasized the importance of open communication, respect and trust in order to begin the healing process. Overall, the offenders regretted the pain that they had caused their partners and felt fear at the thought of separating. One participant stated, "I miss her and I love her. I wish she didn't have to go through what she's going through now" (11). Another offender described his relationship with his common-law wife by stating, "I'm scared to

lose my wife. I love her too much and I care about her a lot" (13). This subcategory contributed to *low self-value*. However, through the apparent positive expectations of the offenders' reunion with their common-wives, there was also a general theme of *hope for the future*.

> "She's got tremendous love for me. When I first started going out with her...I hurt her a lot, by seeing other women and abusing her. She had [to] really step back from me. Today, just recently, I started to understand how much she loves me and cares about me...and I'm committed to being with her for the rest of my life" (9).

> "I'm just beginning to understand a little bit more about her side. How much trouble I've caused her, and how I've hurt her physically and emotionally. She's a great person. I just hope that I can make her happy once I'm back to her again" (9).

Relationship with children. Thirteen of the offenders reported that they had children (65%). Most of these participants had three or more, natural and/or adopted, children (35%). Relationships with the offenders' children were varied, from close (50%) to absolute separation (50%). The inmates who reported a close connection with their children spent time with their children, teaching them cultural traditions, cooking for them and playing with them. Following is a description provided by one of the offenders of the enjoyment he derived from spending time with his son.

> "It was fun with my son. [It was] like I was looking at myself...my son is two years old...and [it was] like I was just looking at myself, that I'm with my grandfather...just imaging. It felt so good. I felt so free. Talking with him, teaching him how...Now, my son's been crying every night, looking for me around the house" (17).

Of the offenders who reported that they were not close with their children, several indicated that their ex-common-law wife lived with the children in another community, and their access to visitation was limited. Some of the offenders were frustrated by this situation and desired to be in regular contact with their children. Others were resolved to start a new family, or become the father figure to their new common-law wife's children.

Although some of the offenders continued to live with their children, they suggested that their behaviour, especially drinking, had significantly interfered with the development of a close relationship. Regardless of the reason for the offenders' separation from their children, the participants' expressed regret and sadness at the loss of familial connection.

> "Again, everything was great when I was sober, until I started using drugs again. I noticed the older daughter was, she was waiting for me to do something. Cause we played a lot before, until I started using drugs. And I noticed she was really quiet and she would sit in the same place for the longest time...and I couldn't use the tools I learned from the treatment centre because I was feeling really bad and...I had gone to [prison]... and [I want] to start over again" (4).

Cultural connection

What it means to be an Inuk. Several participants used cultural terms and traditions as part of their descriptions of themselves (45%). Some inmates defined themselves concisely as, "I am Inuk", while others utilized the understanding of traditional skills and knowledge in their descriptions. Several individuals explained their love of hunting and carving to be integral in the definition of themselves (20%). Of the traditional skills maintained in their lives, nearly all of the inmates reported continued involvement in hunting and camping (75%). Participating in Inuit games, volunteering for Inuit events, as well as working with the Elders were also listed by the participants as areas of continued cultural knowledge involvement (25%). The offenders who described themselves through their Inuit heritage were primarily older inmates, who possessed a strong connection to their traditional backgrounds. These individuals stated that cultural skills were very important in the formation of their identity as a "friendly", "independent" and "welcoming" Inuit person.

> "Me? I feel like being alone, get away from town, White people. Because, I'm Inuk. I mean I do what I want. And when people try and tell me what to do, I just ignore them because I'm Inuk. I don't go for money...When I need money, I just carve for myself. Because, I'm just Inuk" (22).

> "Although being an Inuk, if I could survive without having to work for any program, work on my own, I think I would prefer to live out in the open space, because I still have my Nomadic blood in me...It's going to be much easier now for me to use my Inuit heritage to get employment...hopefully" (1).

> "We do like being an Inuk man, like to help. It helps a lot when you go out hunting...help others and help Elders and help people [who] don't have hunting equipment. When you do that, it helps a lot for your life...Stay away from trouble and do a lot of hunting...It helps a lot" (21).

> "Well, I think I do good at seal hunting during spring time and my family has learned to love spring hunting and fishing. That's my pride and joy of being Inuk and having a family...I'm proud to be Inuk because I believe I can survive in the land. That way, I'm proud of being Inuk, because they have survived up here for thousands of years...It gives me a sense of pride" (4).

Loss of culture. The meaning of Inuit culture in their own lives appeared to be a difficult area for the participants to explain. Although several of the older inmates indicated that they had a connection with their Inuit background (30%), many of the other inmates felt a partial connection (30%), or none at all (30%). Of the offenders that indicated moderate or no connection to their Inuit culture, many suggested that they felt an "emptiness" or "loss". This had been resultant of changes to the traditional Inuit ways of living. The loss of connection to traditional Inuit knowledge and lifestyle contributed to the central theme of *alienation*.

> "Cause the only reason, in my opinion, that I'm lost in the feeling is because I'm...forcing, I'm keeping myself away from that knowledge the Inuit may have. Basically, because I am concentrating on getting high and it's just me who's keeping myself away from tradition" (4).

> "Ever since I turned 18, I hardly done too much [hunting]. I am now right into drugs and that...I just take pot, hash, and that, ever since I start smoking ...I smoke it lots. So, I really don't hunt too much no more, myself...I know my parents used to like camping out all summer and I used to stay with them.

> I grew up on the land. But ever since I grew up, I was on my own, getting into trouble, breaking the laws and stuff like that" (13).

> "...I guess I'm kind of losing my culture compared to other people. In the fifties it would be different. Like ever since the White men came in we started to lose this and that. I don't know, depending on where you are, like in town...here, to me, it's not too alive I guess" (2).

> "I don't think we're all there yet. I think we're still being runned over by White men and the government...[This] Nunavut thing in my point of view...I know there've been some changes but people [White men] who used to be there are still here. So, not much of a change...Inuk point of view, I think we're all just a bunch of dummies" (9 - The statement of "...we're all just a bunch of dummies" was interpreted as this inmate's perception of how White man feels about the Inuit).

The changes to Inuit cultural connections, as mentioned by the inmates, included decreased sharing within Inuit communities, poor Inuktitut language skills amongst the youth, as well as less of a desire to hunt and provide traditional foods. These individuals reported that it has been primarily the domination of "White ways" in the North and deaths of Inuit Elders that have led to the disintegration of the Inuit traditional knowledge. The "White ways", as explained by the inmates, include alcohol and drug use, the exchange of money for goods instead of sharing, and an emphasis on academic learning over Inuit traditional knowledge. As well, the participants indicated that they no longer owned personal equipment for hunting, and that being sent to jail had impeded their plans to spend time outdoors. Thus, upon their release they had to wait until they had the money to purchase new equipment or were reliant on others to take them out onto the land. The offenders' impediments to gaining cultural knowledge through White man's influence contributed to the central theme of *alienation*.

> "This year I was planning to go wolf and polar bear hunting. But I lost that opportunity, cause I'm in here now. Next fall, I'll have more equipment, cause I just gave everything away when I got in custody. I gave up my house, all my transportation. Cause what's the use? Me in here and my stuffs out there. Probably get stolen anyways" (17).

> "If [people in the community] see me and they come up to me and ask me if I want to go boating with them or skidooing and that so I can help them out

> ...that's the only time I have a chance to go hunting, cause I don't have my own gear" (6).
>
> "And in the summertime I hunt with them...but one thing, I don't have a boat anymore. Somehow, when I get a boat, I still want to hunt and start, looks like start another life again. Better life. That's what I've been thinking of since I going back and I'm out of jail. I been thinking about that for a long time now, because...I don't belong here, I don't belong here. I know that" (22).

Healing of the Inuit. Some of the offenders described that it is important and useful to know about the problems that have existed in the lives of Inuit and their culture during more recent years, so that they may relate this knowledge to themselves and attempt to change these patterns (30%). A few of the offenders suggested that perhaps Inuit are even on the way to healing their society. Through cultural reintegration strategies, Inuit governmental control, and increased awareness of social problems, the Inuit population may be able to regain aspects of their unique background. The prospect of healing of the Inuit contributed to the general theme of *hope for the future*.

> "I think that whatever happens it's like White man has things that mostly fuck up the people up here, eh? There's too many violence in TV. I don't know, just the nation of the White culture. Like, I know we're going through a stage where there's a lot of problems right now. But maybe ten, twenty years down the road, maybe we'll get used to it and things will start cooling off" (2).
>
> "[I know that] there are things that I am not going to be too proud of to pass onto other people, unless I could correct myself. And I hope that I am not incorrigible ...and try to help others in the same kind of situation I am in now" (1).
>
> "Knowledge and discipline. Those are the most important things...Inuit knowledge, traditional knowledge...The young generation is passing traditional knowledge to White traditions. So, it's mixing now...I already know the traditional skills and I want to learn more of the things coming in. I'd rather do both of them, instead of just one...It's kind of fun too, learning things everyday and teaching everyday" (17).

Employment

Providing for one's family. Employment was of great importance for some individuals in the description of themselves (35%). Some participants' evaluation of

themselves was contingent on whether they had a job and were able to provide for their families (20%). For several of the inmates it was of paramount importance to have a decent job and earn a salary sufficient to support their family in generating the meaning of their personal identity. Furthermore, some of the offenders found it difficult to describe who they were outside of their job.

> "[My] strength is just to work. To keep up with my personal life. Yeah, just to keep up, to feed my family. That was my strength" (3).
>
> "I think you picked the wrong subject to ask for his opinions on his strengths and weaknesses because I have no idea on how I am going to rate myself, unless I am looking for a job" (1).

Relationships with Women

Respect and trust vs. control. Most of the offenders were able to describe how they believed that women want and deserve to be treated (80%). Respect and equality were emphasized by many of the offenders as the most important qualities in a relationship. Trust was a third factor which some of the offenders mentioned as integral in treating women appropriately. The offenders recognized that the roles of women have changed from traditional to more professional and employment involvement (45%). Some offenders were supportive of women's recent integration into the workplace (20%), whereas others endorsed the belief that women should attempt to preserve a more traditional role within the family and home (20%). Although the offenders were not asked to relate their beliefs regarding the treatment of women to their partners, many participants explicated personal situations. One offender explained, "I believe we are in the process of change...although I understood what treatment I should give, I was unable to do what was good" (4). These offenders indicated that ordinarily they endeavor to treat their partner according to principals of respect, equality and trust. However, when

intoxicated the offenders explained that they often became jealous, angry and controlling. Two offenders explained that, upon drinking, men "...pretend to think they are better than everybody, cause they're the man" (9), and "...want to be the boss" (13). When using alcohol, the inmates' treatment of their partner changed and they became more abusive. Although the offenders indicated that they "...hated abusing, when [they] get drunk, it's very different" (10). The aspects of trust and respect countered by anger and control contributed to the central theme of *inability to control/frustration*.

> "The people who has drug and alcohol problems treats their women like shit...Making [the women] work, so they can drink and all that. Having jealousy about other guys talking to [the woman]. Then, [the man] goes and beats up that person or go argue with [the woman]" (8).
>
> "Drinking? Changes a lot. That's for sure. Like, when I'm drinking, I drink a lot and I don't know what I'm doing...Sometimes, I just don't like what she said to me when I'm drinking and that's when I get mad at her" (3).
>
> "Well, women should be treated nicely and respectfully cause they are there for you and they cook for you...The most problem is booze. When it's around and when [the man] gets drunk, they start arguing and next thing that woman gets the beating" (6).

Alcohol and the abuse of women. Above all other implications of alcohol and drug abuse mentioned during the narratives was the abuse of women. A majority of the offenders reported substantial maltreatment of women by Inuit men when the men are intoxicated (85%). This maltreatment ranged from verbal disrespect to physical violence. Many of the offenders recounted their personal situations when discussing issues related to the abuse of women. Some of the offenders accused of domestic assault explained that their partner had tried to defend them at the court hearing. Several inmates reported that they had "blacked out" during the time when they had perpetrated the crime for which they were incarcerated (35%). For many of them, the crime they had committed was a great source of shame and embarrassment. Often when the story of the assault was

recounted to them, the offenders were in disbelief that they had the capacity to commit the alleged crime. Some of the offenders stated that they would get "stressed out" and "angry" about finances, lack of alcohol accessibility and jealousy when intoxicated. From another vantage point, some participants reported that, at times, their girlfriends created arguments, which in turn resulted in abuse. One of the offenders explained that, "Sometimes couples...are different. Some of them go out drinking, sometimes I see people or couples: women abusing men, men abusing their women" (9). Overall, the participants believed that the physiological effects of alcohol make men mean while drunk, and grumpy following a drinking binge, thus rendering them more susceptible to abusing a woman. For this subcategory the central themes of *low self-value* and *inability to control/frustration* were pivotal.

> "There's only sometimes when I have a problem with a girlfriend and mostly I have charge when I am blacked out" (21).
>
> "When I was a kid, my dad used to beat up my mom. I didn't like that at all...But some people do when they are drunk. They start hitting their wives or girlfriends. I don't know why they do that" (12).
>
> "Some people get divorced because of drugs or alcohol...that's no good ...because of alcohol, it makes you bad, very bad...When you've got a wife, sometimes you have to beat up your wife [when you are] drinking. I don't know why...I tried to tell some of my friends who are married, when I see them beating up their wife or kids...'Don't do like that. Don't beat up your wife! She's not going to hit you back! Cause she's a woman'" (22).

Furthermore, as alcohol and drug abuse patterns continue into younger generations, the abuse of women is perpetuated. Two of the youngest participants described how alcohol abuse is negatively affecting young adults. One of these offenders considered that it is very important for his female friends to ensure that they have a "safe house" to go to for protection from physical abuse when their boyfriends are intoxicated.

The second offender explained that in party atmospheres many young women are being sexually abused while drunk.

> "...When there's a party and when the party crash and somebody pass out there and there's a guy just doing that, [raping a girl]...Like, I'm pretty sure there's a lot of guys getting away with stuff like that. With that one it really affects young people in town like that" (6).

White Man

"Colour is only the top layer"

Several of the participants had strong views about White man and the changes that have occurred in the North resultant of Southern processes. Overall, the participants indicated that "...some *Qallunaat* are good, and some are bad" (9), noting that each person is a unique individual (45%). Many of the offenders felt that it was inappropriate to judge White people solely based on racial status. Instead, these inmates suggested that motivational factors for White people moving to the North, as well as the individual White person's beliefs about the Inuit should be appraised (25%). The participants who did not feel discriminated against by White people stated that they try to "...treat White people the same as anyone else". However, several other participants felt that they were regularly discriminated against within their community and daily life (35%). These individuals expressed beliefs that White men only came to the North to make money, and that generally non-Inuit do not respect the Inuit. This subcategory was pivotal to the central themes of *alienation* and *low self-value*.

> "Some people are [racist]. Like, some White people are and some aren't. Some people want to learn a lot about us. And some White people really are prejudiced and there are negative sides. So, they think we are mostly alcoholics and go to jail just to go have free food and free roof over our heads. That's the down side of what White people are telling us" (17).

> "I welcome [White people], but when they try to take over with our lives, I don't like that. My grandfather used to tell me, 'Don't ever listen to White

> people because they lie and let you do bad things. Let you think very hard. Cause you're Inuk'" (22).

> "Like, some White people, they like to hunt. I mean when they're hunting, I don't like them. When they kill something, they shoot them and just leave them. They don't eat them. Like fishing, when they caught fish they take the hook off and just let it go. That's no good. That's no good to me. Cause the animal, when it's wounded, it's hurting inside like us" (22).

Social problems brought by *Qallunaat*

Several of the offenders reported significant changes that have occurred since White people came to the North. Above all, the introduction of alcohol and drugs by White man was perceived by the offenders to have had the most detrimental impact on the Inuit communities (55%). Several of the offenders reported that without the influences of White man, the Inuit would not presently have the significant social problems, such as criminal activity, domestic abuse, and child neglect, that often result from alcohol or drug abuse. Some of the offenders suggested that beyond the initial problems caused by alcohol and drugs, White people continue to propagate difficulties through "boot-legging" activities.

> "[The White man] changed it very much. Since I was a kid they started bringing the alcohol when I was a kid and that ruined our culture. That's when my mother became an alcoholic...That's what I think of *Qallunaat*. They ruin our culture. Cause they brought in the alcohol and they created more problems for the Inuit" (10).

> "The only thing that I think affects Inuit people is booze. Like, if there was no bars or something like that in town, I'm pretty sure so many people would be, like, so happy, and you know have their stuff like they need and that...Don't have to like seeing people be abused or something" (6).

> "I think about [the White man] once in awhile...The only time I get mad at White people is when: how come they brought booze up to the North, eh? I mean, I don't think we ever had it before. And I sometimes, I blame them... Sometimes I get mad at them, like when I end up in jail" (13).

> "Like, there's so many booze and dope back at home now, coming in since the White people started coming up North. Like, the construction workers, all the

> cooks. Wherever there is White people working, they been bringing dope and alcohol to our community. Start selling, start letting the students sell for them. So, that's kind of hard for me" (17).

The offenders reported that modernization processes in the North, through the introduction of "White man's things", has also been detrimental to the Inuit. The participants stated that White culture has resulted in "alienation" from Inuit cultural traditions and that White people have "taken over" the resources in the North. Some offenders indicated that White people were employed in well paying jobs, even though many Inuit do not have appropriate work available to them. In addition, the offenders suggested that the amenities provided by White man, such as T.V.s and movies, have persuaded many of the Inuit to abandon their traditional knowledge and neglect hunting, or going out on the land. This subcategory, involving the introduction of "White man's things", contributed significantly to the central theme of *alienation*.

> "I'm not against them, but I'm saying that there's kind of been, like the way I see it, we are being alienated. I guess they've pretty well taken over, like buildings, jobs, money, commodity and this and that. Like everywhere you go in town there's, like, something to do with White man. Everywhere you go" (2).

> "It changed a lot cause, a lot of [Inuit] people aren't working. They started drinking. They started gambling a lot...Seems to me there's more White people coming in and taking over the jobs. And that's kind of hard for Inuit here. Money is hard up North. Everything costs so much. To me, I look at this Nunavut, that all the money is going to White people. They go up north and start working and getting the high, high paid jobs" (17).

> "...some of [the White men] just want to be too good or think that they're too good. {How do they show that?} Knowledge wise, job wise. I mean, why are they up here if they don't like people like us? Hey, they're up here mostly for the money, cause that's my view anyways...They just like, seems like, they just want someone to laugh at...When we try to defend ourselves, verbally or physically, it seems like we always get stepped over on all the time" (9).

Several of the offenders believed that although some of changes caused by White men were negative, others were highly beneficial for the Inuit. Institutional changes, such as the introduction of education and health care, were noted as positive changes in the

North (25%). Many of the offenders suggested that formalized schooling has created the opportunity for Inuit to gain knowledge through literacy which was uncommon in the past. One offender suggested that the "conveniences brought up [by White man] have been more than welcome, and are starting to help us live a little bit longer" (1). The inmates also noted that the ease of accessing housing, jobs, as well as supplies because of modernization had been beneficial to the Inuit.

"White men are power-hungry"

Although few of the participants endorsed the existence of overt discrimination within the Northern communities, nearly all of the inmates suggested that racism was evident within the judicial system (85%), especially through "White man's laws" (the Southern legal system). Some offenders reported that White man brought "too many laws to the North", thus imposing limitations upon Inuit traditional law. The judicial system, according to the inmates, was twofold. Justice within the community pertained to R.C.M.P. officers, and within the correctional system justice related to the guards. When speaking about the R.C.M.P., many of the inmates recognized that law enforcement is needed within the community (45%) in order to "maintain peace", "keep control" and "help people out". However, several of the offenders felt that members of the police had become "power-hungry", and tended to "over-react". One offender compared the perceived "authoritative" attitude of the R.C.M.P. to the general position of power occupied by White people. While recounting an assault of an Inuit young offender by an Inuit member of the police force, the offender stated, "That Inuk cop thinks like White people. Trying to be too much like the White, just cause he's a cop" (7). The offenders suggested that police officers had become too rough when dealing with people involved

in disturbances, especially those who had arrest histories or were intoxicated/high. Several inmates related personal accounts of police violence, directed towards themselves or a friend. Furthermore, some of the offenders believed that police were able to lie about the circumstances of an altercation and never truly had to deal with the consequences of unnecessarily aggressive behaviour (25%). Within the context of racial prejudice, the inmates' narratives contributed to the central themes of *alienation* and *powerlessness/helplessness*.

> "Some of [the R.C.M.P.] are a little out of hand...Before I got in custody... I watched this cop beating this guy up while [the guy's] hand was back, handcuffs, and that cop pepper-sprayed that friend of mine. Three times. Dragged him out. He was dragging him to the truck from the stairs, pulling a lot of hairs, started beating him up too. That friend of mine had three broken ribs" (17).

> "Maybe because they're just cops and they have their suit up and we can't do nothing about it. It's against the law [for us to do something about it] and so, maybe cause of that, they're so big shot. Like, 'Hey! We can do this. They can't do nothing to us. We're the law.' And that's how they think of it. And that's how I think of it too, in a way" (6).

> "The R.C.M.P. up here, I sure would like to see them, you know, to be friendly...to other person, that's drunk. Some cops are, like...I know they could lie and get away with stuff. But I sure would like having cops that would like to be honest with us" (13).

> "I had an incident with the R.C.M.P. They went to go interview me about an alleged crime...There were these two R.C.M.P. officers that came in and started talking to me...They started threatening me. Like, they were going to get someone to threaten me, like to harm me. They said, 'You want [us] to get *him* to deal with you?' They even mentioned something about a knife. But I was alone at that time, and there was two cops, so, I never bothered bringing it up" (2).

The offenders voiced a number of concerns that they had with the guards at the prison. Many of these issues pertained to "power-trips" and "control". The offenders stated that the guards were not fulfilling the role as counsellors and teachers needed by the inmates. Instead, several offenders felt that the guards displaced personal anger onto the inmates, were poor role models (i.e., bootleggers) and made efforts to prevent the

happiness of the offenders (50%). Many of the participants also felt that the guards failed to pay attention to the concerns of the inmates (30%). As such, problems within the prison or between inmates escalated and offenders did not receive the help they required. The guards' lack of providing adequate attention was suggested, by some inmates, to stem from cultural insensitivity, judgmental attitudes relating to the inmates' charges, as well as an inability to speak or understand Inuktitut.

> "I think they should just help us more instead of laughing at us. I understand that they are doing their job and stuff. I think that some of them are over-reacting sometimes. I know that a lot of them got away with a lot of bad stuff that has happened to Inuit people...Power, power-hungry" (9).

> "...some of them are way out of hand, even the guards here. They sometimes, they like enjoy getting us mad and them feeling better cause they're getting us mad, cause we can't touch them. If we touch them, we'll get charged. They think that they're all that. But outside if they did that to us, they know we can do something to them" (17).

> "The guards, they're here just for nothing. They're here eight hours a day, just doing nothing. I mean like I think it would be better if they had counsellors or teachers more in here, instead of just those people guarding. They don't help out enough...Some guards are assholes, some guards are really nice and most of them, they try and put you down" (2).

When speaking about the racism encountered through the justice system, some of the offenders also differentiated between Inuit and White police officers and guards. The inmates believed that if they were White their treatment in prison would be significantly improved (55%). Overall, issues and examples of discrimination by White people contributed to the central themes of *alienation* and *powerlessness/helplessness*.

> "...White people in here, in this B.C.C., [the guards] treat them well. When they say something, [the guards] get for them. But us Inuit, they don't treat us well in here. Like, sometimes we want to eat our traditional food. That's the hardest thing we want...and we get it maybe once a month. That's no good to me" (22).

Many offenders reported that Inuk officers and guards were better able to communicate and respond to difficulties with the Inuit offenders (35%). Although

linguistic skills in Inuktitut were invaluable for these positions, according to the inmates, it is imperative that the employees of the judicial system are sensitive to the unique needs of the Inuit culture and background of the offenders. The offenders further explained that White people would be able to more effectively perform the role of police officers and guards if they took an active interest in learning Inuktitut, as well as about the Inuit heritage.

> "When Inuit people had their own life, when you got into trouble, [the Inuit] used to talk to you. When the R.C.M.P. came to community, looks like they screw up your life...When the R.C.M.P. charge you, you think about it a lot. Sometimes you feel like killing yourself, and some Inuit people think about it a lot...And some guys, they think very hard when the White people came, like mostly the R.C.M.P.s" (22).

> "That's what I told the guards a couple of days ago. They were giving me a hard time, just told them, 'If you guys were all Inuit, all this trouble wouldn't go to you guys. We would get along well.' Like there's some Inuit guards here. We get along with all the Inuits. And all the White people, we are not getting along with them" (17).

Personal Crime

"Blacked out"

While relating the stories of the crimes, for which they had been sentenced, the majority of the offenders indicated that they were guilty of their charge (85%). Of the offenders who indicated their guilt, many of them reported that they had been intoxicated or high while committing the offense (75%). Many of the offenders who assaulted their partner while drunk admitted to recalling portions of the assault, however, indicated that they "blacked-out" for a significant period of time during and following the assault (35%). These offenders reported that they could remember brief moments, such as "hitting my common-law", "my common-law scratching my face" and "beating my common-law". However, upon waking up the following day, few could accurately recall

the circumstances of the preceding evening. Most of the offenders reported feelings of anger and frustration immediately prior to committing the assault. This subcategory related to the central theme of *inability to control/frustration.*

> "What brought me here? Drunkenness. Alcohol abuse brought me here. I guess. I feel bad about it, for what I did...I guess it's my fault. I feel bad about it. I mean it's me who did it. Like normally I wouldn't. I would not have done what I did, if I wasn't drunk...Cause I had too many drinks that night, and I started, I don't know, I was somebody else. Pathological intoxication" (2).

> "Alcohol. I was drunk and I blacked out and just between me and my girlfriend, we started arguing. I blacked out and I started hitting her or pushing her. That's how I got, ended up in jail...I didn't meant to do the crime. Alcohol and that's all" (21).

Bad situations

The offenders charged with drug or property related crimes most commonly reported that peer pressure and negative life situations had influenced their decisions to commit a crime. Two of the offenders who had perpetrated break-and-enter crimes reported being homeless, kicked out of school, and making "fucked up choices" prior to committing their offenses. The offenders implicated in drug-related crimes indicated that they owed a great deal of money to drug dealers and needed money to support their own drug habits. Overall, negative peer groups were reported as the most influential factor in committing property crimes. *Powerlessness/helplessness* was the central theme related to this subcategory.

> "It was peer pressure. All my crimes that I did, it was peer pressure. Sometimes it's fun, adrenaline rush. Sometimes it's not so great. Cause if you get caught, you got to do the time, after you do the crime...I just walked away before. As soon as [my friends] found out I'm a little more educated, they're dumb of carpentry and all the security works, so they started pressuring me to join them" (17).

> "I had no job. I couldn't get a job. I tried and I was kicked out from school. I was making fucked up choices. I couldn't stay at my brother's or at my sister's. I drank lots that time. I was fucked up...For about a month. Eat

> every once in awhile. It was hard...It's no good. It's not me. I don't do that. I don't think like that, but I don't know why I did it and now I'm here. I can't do anything about it" (12).

"I don't belong here. I know that"

Overall, the offenders reported feelings of regret, shame, anger and frustration about having committed the crimes for which they were sentenced (85%). Several offenders wished they had listened to the encouragement of their family members, most often their common-law wife, to stay away from alcohol and keep out of prison. The experience of incarceration was very traumatic and lonely for several participants. One of the offenders described prison as "...the house with too many walls" (22). For the offenders who felt a strong connection to the land, the feeling of having no freedom and being locked up was deeply saddening. This subcategory fell into the central theme of *low self-value* and *powerlessness/helplessness*.

> "I mean, it's very bad to me and I don't know about others, but it's bad to me. Cause, I don't belong here...Like, I don't want to go back in and out to B.C.C. because I have to take care of my parents...I have to help them because they need me. I know that. Because they been telling me not to go back her again and it means a lot to me" (22).

> "Ashamed and helplessness. Helplessness. I would have done better if I didn't go here. Being confined to one space is just unbearable. I've never been confined the way I am" (11).

Some of the offenders described that they had considered suicide when they had been initially charged and ultimately sentenced for the offense they had perpetrated (20%). To many inmates, the shame of having committed an offense of such gravity was reported as completely destructive to their self-esteem. One offender related that after having found out about the crime he committed he "...just wanted to dig a hole and crawl in" (1). These offenders wondered how their common-law wife or others in their community could forgive them for their crime. Other inmates felt frustrated by their

perceived inability to control their behaviour and stay out of jail. Overall, the offenders stated that they felt "helpless" and "awful", both about committing the crime and being incarcerated. The feeling of being overwhelmed by the consequences of one's behaviour was pivotal to the central themes of *low self-value, powerlessness/helplessness* and *inability to control/frustration.*

> "I felt really bad. I felt like I was the worst person in the world. I felt so sorry. I wished I could go back and we can't do that. You know? Just, there's nothing, nothing you can do about it. And after, when it's done already, there's nothing you can do. You can't rewind the world. You can't rewind life. So, I felt really bad about it" (10).

> "I hate it. I don't really like it, but we have to be here to do our time. Pay for the crimes we did. I don't really like being here, and I've been going to jail since I was 18. And I don't remember too well. I wish I could quit coming in here" (13).

Experience at B.C.C.

Most of the participants were enrolled in rehabilitation programs at B.C.C. (85%). Those who were not involved in programming were participants from the remand population. The inmates who were involved in programming were primarily enrolled in drug/alcohol intervention, anger management, land program, and classroom groups. Other groups in which some of the offenders participated included temporary release (employment opportunities), life skills, personal development, shop/kitchen and psychology/counseling. The temporary release program was only offered to inmates who had served one third or more of their sentence and had been accepted through an application to the classification officer.

Value of programming

Most of the offenders believed that programming was invaluable to their recovery and the prevention of recidivism. These offenders indicated that current rehabilitation

strategies would help them to deal with life difficulties and teach them more advantageous means through which to solve problems. Primarily, the offenders stated that having the ability to "talk" about their difficulties in a confidential and safe environment allowed them to work through feelings of anger and hurt.

> "[We learned] that we are all part of the cycle that goes on in every culture. Mostly the crimes that we commit, when we commit the crimes, we just make the cycle go on further and further. I should have realized then...It's still really a help to me to individually stop the cycle, as it's passed on from one generation to the other" (11).

> "I think [the programs] have had a fairly good impact on most people who have attended them. Especially those that realize that problems that cause them to be in here, if repeated again, will only repeat themselves" (1).

Ikaliaktalik - Help the inmates

Each of the inmates were able to provide suggestions for the development and revision of programming. Many offenders stated that the current system was deficient in the ability to provide effective rehabilitation to offenders. One offender explained that although the name for prison in Inuktitut is *Ikaliaktalik*, meaning "...the justice system will help the inmates with their problems" (3), programs offered at B.C.C. did not adequately fulfill this mandate. Other offenders indicated that the current system has not met the needs of Inuit justice by solely keeping inmates incarcerated and not providing the necessary cultural resources to facilitate their recovery.

> "It's kind of like the prison system is divided into two areas. One is punishment and the other is [that] you are supposed to be learning something here. So, they have to find the balance of helping you out...At this point there is more need for some cultural programs, some personal understanding programs, that sort of thing to help you on the side of learning" (4).

> "About the criminal justice system up here, as far as the correctional? I think it's pretty shitty. There's not enough programming, especially to do with the problems the inmates have, mainly with alcohol and drugs, maybe, losing their culture. See, I don't think it's good to have a jail for Inuit people up here" (2).

> "If the punishment is to be equal, either we're being punished or we're being given a chance to think, and those two are big different, to me. Cause, I think if one understands [what he did], he don't need punishment. He just needs to continue programming...or just basically learn" (4).

Practical recommendations were provided by several of the inmates to improve the condition of life within the prison. One offender stated that although the inmates may have criticisms about the current system at B.C.C., "...by the same token, [the offenders] should realize that they are in prison and not in a five-star hotel" (1). Yet the suggestions provided by the participants were for the general betterment of the B.C.C. facility and not personal gain. Amongst the recommendations were more telephones and a gym within the inmate population area, as well as easier access to smoking and recreational facilities for remand inmates. Several of the inmates indicated that the provision of a gym would allow them to better maintain their physical health while incarcerated. Weights or cardio-machines would enable the inmates to exercise and keep their bodies healthy. More telephones were requested by several inmates to facilitate their attempts to continue contact with their children and common-laws wives while in prison. Their primary connection to their home and family was through access to telephones. As several of the offenders were from distant communities, they did not have regular visitors and had begun to feel exceedingly lonely and isolated. Lastly, the offenders in remand were frustrated by the time spent waiting for clearance to proceed to the main population smoking room or recreational area. The inclusion of such amenities in remand would facilitate the access of these remand inmates' to spending time outdoors and having smoke breaks.

Talk to us

Communication with prison staff, especially those in management positions, was criticized by some of the inmates. These offenders felt that their concerns and requests were not being adequately addressed through the present system. The inmates' needs for counselling on a daily basis, according to some of the inmates, should be provided by guards while on duty. This would ease the offenders in dealing with their problems immediately instead of allowing anger to build until the situation became uncontrollable or was eventually rectified. As well, the inmates reported that when they attempted to contact the management personnel the responses to requests were not timely and sufficient explanations for denied requests were not provided. Some offenders believed that their efforts to demonstrate personal improvements were often ignored. The communication barrier between inmates and prison staff further contributed to the central theme of *powerlessness/helplessness*.

> "Every man has a right to apply for a [temporary absence] when their one sixth is up, and it depends on their behaviour. But sometimes [management] look up on the file and see about the 'history/past'..and they can't think of, like, this is now. Inmate is probably different person or he change or let's give him a chance" (6).

> "I think that they should change what their mandate is right now. I mean, there's four to five guards in one shift and those guards all they do is just walk around... And here we are. There's all bunch of inmates and we're not getting helped out, as far as counselling goes. Like, you know? It's more like this place is a school for criminality" (2).

Focus on the "outside world"

Although many inmates believed that current programming is useful, their recommendations included ways in which the rehabilitation would be more beneficial to them, especially upon their release. It was suggested by several inmates that programs should be more focused and intense. Presently, programs are run two to three times each

week. The offenders did not believe that this number of sessions was sufficient for the in-depth assistance they required. They suggested that more refined programs, run intensely every day of the week or for longer periods of time (i.e., two hours instead of one hour), would better facilitate them in modifying their behaviour and understanding their problems. Emphasis was placed on the premise that programs should deal with real-life issues faced by the offenders "out there". The term "out there" referred to the inmates' experiences within their home communities instead of life "within the prison". One offender suggested that a hindrance to involvement in programming was that some programs interfered with each other. This inmate was a member of the work release program. In order to save money for his release from B.C.C. he had accepted a job. However, this inhibited his ability to take part in programming offered only in the morning hours while he was working. He suggested that some programs could be run in the evening in order to assist those offenders who left the prison on temporary releases each day.

> "But the program that I'm in, I think they should have more time on that cause, we do that only once a week. And it's not enough. I think we should be more focused on what we are doing...I mean, if a person wants to change, once a week for one hour and a half doesn't seem like enough" (9).

Integration of culture and counselling

Many of the offenders had suggestions about the need for and creation of new Inuit cultural programs at B.C.C. Several offenders recognized the merits of the Land Program in helping them to heal while incarcerated. These inmates recommended that an incorporation of the Land Program with a drug/alcohol or anger management counseling program would be very useful to them. One offender explained that if considering his sentence positively, he believed he has been granted the opportunity to learn more about

himself and his behaviour while participating in a "...journey in a different environment" (4). Most offenders recognized that while being offered the privilege of engaging in their Inuit cultural traditions, they could simultaneously deal with substance or domestic abuse issues. This would allow them to target areas of the *alienation* and *inability to control/frustration* which were central to the themes of many of their narratives.

> "Yes. [Land Programs] helped me out a lot...When I'm just sitting here the time goes very slow. When I'm out there, time goes fast. Looks like, you don't think about [the past abuse] when you are doing something. But when you are just sitting here doing nothing, until you get out, you think about it a lot. Bad things" (22).

Some of the offenders thought that the Land Program was limited in its scope and did not adequately emphasize the merits of learning about the outdoors and the Inuit culture. The offenders explained that the healing capabilities of hunting, land activities, and traditional Inuit skills should be promoted. Even skills that could be taught within the confines of the prison, such as carving and working with animal skins, would benefit the offenders upon their release. Two of the inmates suggested that if B.C.C. purchased carving tools they would be able to sell their carvings and save money for their release.

> "Some of them, they are not too much about the land, eh? Cause, I know when I'm out on the land it's a natural high. Like, I don't have to drink or smoke up. Like it's cool. It's different. And you have no worries and you're not hung-over...Some people they hardly do it" (2).

> "Instead of putting them behind bars, maybe they should get some kind of program. Like, make them do what their culture is. Make them work with their culture. Make them stay out on the land and deal with Elders and their family" (2).

Elder instruction

Some offenders believed that it is important to allow Elders into the prison to conduct cultural programs, as well as healing programs and spiritual groups. These offenders felt that the Elders would be more "understanding" and "helpful". Furthermore,

the Elders could communicate in Inuktitut, which would facilitate conversation with the inmates. The provision of elder role models would also benefit the offenders through helping them understand their cultural background and develop their identity and confidence as an Inuit individual. Such strategies, as cultural reintegration and elder involvement, would confront issues faced through the central themes of *alienation*, *abandonment*, and *low self-value*.

> "Cause if I went to court I could maybe get more help from the elder, from the Inuit...I seen from the other community. There was court going on, there was always and elder sitting right beside the judge. Sometimes, I can't quite understand what's going on. Talking to Elders helps a lot...more understanding" (21).

Combating grief and anger through building trust and identity

Many of the offenders recognized that they had endured a great deal of abuse and emotional loss throughout their lives. One of the offenders identified that grief and anger management were two interrelated programming issues. He stated, "...I see a lot of people grieving, and most of them are really angry" (13). As such, healing programs would enable the offenders to deal with grief, loss, anger and identity issues. The effectiveness of these programs according to one offender is contingent upon confidentiality and trust. He reported that he had ceased involvement with a community support group because, "I know everyone and everybody knows me...I want to talk about my problems, but they're gonna talk to other people" (13). Another offender indicated that it is imperative to be able to "...cry openly and express yourself wholly" (11). The success of programs dealing with personal development may create a further impact upon the prevention of alcohol and drug abuse through self-understanding. Moreover, such programs would aid in approaching issues encompassed within the central themes of *low*

self-value, powerlessness/helplessness, inability to control/frustration, alienation and *abandonment*.

> "I know that the program I'm in is helping me in a way...I'm very much interested in learning more about myself, like what kind of person I am, why I do this, why I do that, how I can control myself, how I can be a better person, how I can help others. And if they were to teach more people about how or why they have problems like they do...they should have more programs in helping people" (9).

> "Most of the guys got really angry [at the healing programs]. They were scared to talk about their feelings and stuff like that. Some of them were pretty proud. I was scared to, myself, like what have I got hid for nothing? Sometimes you got to take a chance and sit down and listen. It's scary sometimes, you know? But, there's something missing in my life" (13).

Prevention of abuse of women

The offenders stated that it is difficult to deal with the problems of the inmates' who have committed crimes against women, such as domestic assaults, as these offenses are not openly discussed in the Inuit communities. Regardless of the communication barrier, the offenders believed that it was important to "deal with it at home" (17) by assisting both the offender and victim, as well as community when attempting to prevent recidivism.

> "I have no idea [why the abuse is happening]. I been trying to talk to people about that, but they just let me down cause I didn't do that crime and they don't want me to get involved in their business" (17).

> "They've done something serious out there, like committing a crime...but when you're in the walls all the time, when you don't have much space, you can't communicate that much with your family or other people. Some of them, they just want to go crazy...If you're under the walls all the time, you just want to beat yourself or hurt yourself...I think they should get more programs here, like get involved with the community or the justice system or with Elders, hunting, stuff like those" (9).

Alcohol abuse intervention, anger management, personal development and healing programs were the most frequently identified strategies for contending with the abuse of women. Many of the offenders suggested that counselling regarding personal abuse

issues witnessed or endured during childhood would be beneficial. Through confronting the abuses that the offender had been subjected to during their childhood, the development of alternative means to cope with current frustrations would be facilitated. Furthermore, counselling that incorporated the victim and accused would permit both individuals to come to terms with the assault and how to prevent abusive behaviour in future. This subcategory fell into the general theme of *hope for the future*.

> "I think [the offenders] have got to be helped out. I mean, like get some counselling. There may be reasons why they are doing it. They may be also assaulted themselves...Just get some help. I guess, they still have to go to jail, but as long as they get help in jail...Deal with the victim and the accused. Like get them together, some kind of counselling" (2).

> "Well, hopefully [the programming] will control my anger, like, I want to control how to...like, I get angry at my girlfriend...I'm a very jealous type person, eh? Very much. And I want to get, in order to do that, I want to control my anger" (10).

Boredom in remand

The offenders who were not part of programming were incarcerated in the remand division of the prison. These inmates criticized the current system for inefficiencies in their treatment, especially the boredom they endured daily. Within remand, offenders could not participate in counseling and many programming activities. Justice regulations have been established which suggest that enrollment in programs would indicate guilt, and thus, incriminate the offenders. Therefore, inmates in remand have restricted access to rehabilitation although their term in remand, according to the participants, may exceed six months. The offenders in remand are granted recreational and smoke breaks, as well as outings to the "Bullpen", yet generally they are held within remand during the day. Their activities are limited to sleeping, playing cards, reading, and watching T.V. One offender's description of remand was, "It's like hell there. It's just no good" (12). The

offenders in remand expressed that although they understood why most rehabilitative activities were unavailable to them, it would be useful to participate in educational upgrading and other "non-incriminating" programs while awaiting their sentence. The offenders also requested a guarantee that "time spent" in remand would be considered "time served" upon receiving their sentence. One offender stated that he has spent four months in remand and has been told that the judge may not even consider these months as "time served" when determining his sentence. This offender believed that he has been treated unfairly, and although he is trying to "...enjoy life, it's hard" (17).

Young offenders at home

Many of the participants had begun their justice system or criminal activity involvement at the Young Offender level. Other offenders had been exposed to and witnessed youth criminality in their home communities. As such, the inmates were able to provide recommendations of how to prevent young adolescents from getting into trouble and going to prison. The primary mechanism recognized by the participants in keeping children away from criminal behaviour was to promote parental, Elder, as well as inmate involvement in the lives of the youth. It was suggested that the parents should be more strict with their children, ensuring that the adolescents did not engage in criminal activities or associate with a negative peer group. The Elders would be able to provide instruction in cultural knowledge and talk to the youth about life lessons, including the value of "respect" and "discipline". Furthermore, several of the inmates expressed a desire to become part of the solution through speaking to adolescents in their home communities about the problems incurred in jail and encourage the youth to make more positive life choices. As well, the inmates suggested that young offenders should be

detained as close to home as possible to ensure that they could maintain contact with their families and establish a network of support.

> "To me, sometimes when I go back home, sometimes I think about kids. I talk to them about here, about what happened to me. I could try to tell them not to take drugs and not to drink, and all those bad things. If I could do that, I would be very happy to help because it's not good to be here" (22).

> "When I go back home, I want to join the justice committees back home and I want to talk to younger generation about what I had experienced in this place. And I want to point them to the right direction, not to come here and that" (3).

> "Why don't they build an outpost camp or minimum security for young offenders back home, so everybody could be closer together? Talk, talk. Like, get the families involved with their lives. Cause it's hard without families supporting you in here. You're in here all alone, thinking all these things" (17).

Furthermore, many of the offenders recommended that more education, activities and land outings should be promoted in the communities to prevent youth from engaging in criminal behaviour. Several inmates expressed that when the youth have "nothing to do", they wander around the streets late into the night and become bored. After awhile, the youth get into trouble and commit crimes. Through community activities and Inuit cultural training, the youth would be stimulated and less likely to become involved in disruptive behaviour. The related issue of substance abuse could be addressed through community programming by providing kids with alternatives to using alcohol and/or drugs and partying. In addition, through instruction from positive adult role models the youth would be motivated to complete school and behave more responsibly.

> "They have to have more activities for the young kids here. They would have more places to go to, like games or stuff like that in the evening instead of doing nothing and walking around. That's how they get into trouble. They break and enter and stuff like that. So, basically have more activities for the young people here" (10).

> "Land Programs, that's what young people back at home needs. Like they turn to drugs and alcohol instead of boat, Land Programs. And White peoples swear, so, [the kids] do mostly drinking, start doing crimes, looking for money and all that" (17).

Provide encouragement and healing to repeat offenders

As recidivism is recognized to be a significant problem amongst the inmates, the participants were asked about rehabilitation strategies for "repeat" offenders. Interestingly, some of the inmates indicated that they "...wouldn't be here if [they] knew" (1). Of the offenders who provided suggestions for the prevention of recidivism, most focused on the management of alcohol and drug use, as well as anger.

> "I don't know. Like, some of them keeps going back and forth, almost every time. They go out, come back next day or come back next week. They keep doing that. Maybe because of alcohol?...Maybe they keep coming back about it" (22).

One of the offenders suggested that the implementation of a relapse program is very important for repeat offenders who believe they have failed and are feeling defeated (13). For the offenders who are being incarcerated for the second time or more, it is key to their recovery to assist them in overcoming discouragement and reinstating the value gained through learning about oneself and how to cope with life's problems. Such strategies would help alleviate issues of *low self-value* and *inability to control/frustration.*

> "I think there has been some improvements since we have gotten the new warden, who is more sensitive to the needs of the inmates, especially to the needs of the repeat offenders. Trying to get some programs going so that these repeat offenders will hopefully find some skills to help them stay out of here" (1).

> "I hope it has some impact by the time I get out of here. I'm trying to think as positively as possible that it will be of some use to me, because I don't want to wind up back in here from the same kind of problems that I had which caused me to commit the same offenses to land up in here again" (1).

Hope for the future?

Each of the offenders was hopeful about the direction of their life upon release from B.C.C. Many of the offenders had similar goals for the future. The aspirations of the offenders principally included attaining employment (75%), maintaining their abstinence from alcohol and/or drugs (35%) and repairing their relationship with their

common-law wife (30%). Following are the offenders plans of how to fulfill their goals in these domains.

Supporting my family. Many of the inmates had taken an opportunity to develop a strategy for attaining appropriate employment and determining occupational objectives. Six of the offenders intended to go back to school and receive their high school and graduate from an apprenticeship or technician program. These individuals felt that it was very important for them to complete their education and be employed in a semi-professional position.

> "I am just hoping for finishing my schooling. Do another course, get that, finish that course and try to get a contract...I like working too. I love working...My goal is to graduate and watch my son grow" (17).

Reasons for desiring employment were varied, but primarily focused upon the inmates' responsibilities to provide for their family. Several of the inmates wanted a job to support their common-law wife and children, pay off bills and save money for relocating to another community. Other inmates stated that they wanted to start their own business, and through the use of cultural skills, such as carving or guiding, establish a reliable income for their family. These inmates felt that, through the utilization of Inuit traditional knowledge, they would be able to both support their family and enjoy their chosen profession.

> "I make good money carving, eh? And I want to get out hunting. There's some good hunting I hear over there. So, I want to go hunting and that would keep me straight. If I go out onto the land, if I go on the land and hunt. That's what I want to do" (13).

"Stay sober". Controlling alcohol and/or drug consumption was another priority of several offenders (35%). These offenders believed that avoiding alcohol and/or drugs would enable them to stay out of prison. For some offenders the goal of remaining sober

was of paramount importance upon their release. One offender stated, "My goals are short and simple. I just need to learn to understand myself and keep sober" (18). The intent of some of the offenders was to relocate to a community where alcohol was less accessible. Of the inmates who intended to move upon their release, a "dry reserve" was the most frequently mentioned destination. These offenders had discussed the option of moving with their common-law wife and as a couple had decided that this would be the best solution to assist both of them in maintaining sobriety. Others of the offenders hoped to utilize community substance use counsellors to provide them with the necessary support to refrain from drinking or taking drugs.

> "I hope to stay out of trouble when I get out of here. I hope I don't ever have to drink again. I said I don't want to drink no more...I sure wish they could keep the booze away from me in the community" (13).

> "Cause I'm gonna be sober...and the main thing I want to move to [that community] for is to stay away from drinking...It's alcohol-free there. Alcohol is controlled. They still have booze once in awhile, but here alcohol is very available. That's why I take it a lot. It's too available" (10).

Start a new life. Many of the offenders also indicated that they were intending to work on themselves and their relationship with their present wife or common-law partner (30%). The offenders felt that by working through issues with their partner they would be able to further develop their personal life skills and knowledge of themselves. Many of the offenders had maintained close contact with their common-law wife while incarcerated and were anticipating their reunion. Some offenders spoke of marrying the woman they were with and starting a family. One offender stated, "I know that when I have enough money, I'll propose to my common law" (9). Several participants reported that they hoped to be able to utilize the strategies they had learned from personal development and anger management programs to rebuild their relationship. Specifically,

many participants indicated that jealousy, anger and trust issues had all impacted their connection with their partner. Thus, as the offenders had attained new skills relating to these problem areas while incarcerated, they would be able to incorporate this new knowledge into facilitating healing in their relationships.

Community of support. The offenders reported three main areas in which they could benefit from ongoing support upon their release from prison. These networks included B.C.C., community counselling and family. Primarily, the offenders indicated that it would be of great assistance if B.C.C. staff could provide them with employment and housing contacts. As several of the offenders intended to obtain employment upon their release from B.C.C., it would be extremely beneficial if a program were developed to aid these individuals in locating appropriate employment that they could begin immediately upon their release. Several of the offenders stated that having a secured job to start as soon as they had been released would help them to "keep busy" and "stay out of trouble". Secondly, the offenders suggested that extended support within the community, beyond probation and parole, would be useful. Specifically, these offenders mentioned that community assistance programs, such as alcohol and/or drug abuse intervention, as well as marital and anger counselling services, would help them to better integrate into their community and family role. Lastly, the offenders stated that family support was integral. Many of the offenders sought to attain the forgiveness of their common-law wife and children. They believed that the return to their family would be exciting, yet involve significant readjustment.

"I don't want to look back". Upon the conclusion of the interview the inmates were asked if they anticipated being incarcerated in future. Most of the offenders

responses were hopeful (95%). Although some offenders were entirely confident that they would never return and responded with a conclusive, "No", several other participants responded somewhat apprehensively with, "I hope not". Some individuals were reluctant to respond, as they were unable to "...see the future". However, these offenders explained that if they "tried" upon release from B.C.C., it would be unlikely that they would return to prison.

> "That's my goal. To stay out of here and be out of here. That's why once I'm out of here, I don't want to look back. I just want to get the hell out of here" (9).

Participation

All of the offenders stated that they were glad to have participated in the study. Overall, the inmates indicated that taking part had given them a break from their regular routine, as well as the opportunity to talk to someone new. Four of the offenders suggested that the researcher appeared to have the "right start" and hoped that the results obtained through the study would be able to assist the inmate population at B.C.C. in future.

CHAPTER IV

Discussion

Overview of the Discussion Section

The discussion section contains: (a) an explanation of the theory that arose from the narratives; (b) an examination of contextual factors which may have influenced the manner in which the interviews were conducted and their subsequent interpretation; (c) a comparison of how the themes and categories gathered in this study pertain to previous research conducted with the Inuit and First Nations populations; (d) an exploration of how the results of the current study may relate or be applicable to other levels of corrections in Nunavut; (e) suggestions for future areas of research that may be of relevance which were either not discussed during the interviews or included in the narratives by the participants; (f) overall summary and final conclusions.

Theoretical Formulation

In this study semi-structured interviews were conducted with Inuit male inmates at the Baffin Correctional Centre in Iqaluit, Nunavut. Grounded theory analysis was utilized on the narratives of inmates to investigate the implications of the findings of role confusion and cultural alienation on criminal behaviour, as well as to develop suggestions for rehabilitation programming based on the offenders' perspectives. The central themes, in decreasing order of frequency, which emerged from this analysis were *alienation*, *powerlessness/ helplessness*, *inability to control frustration*, *low self-value*, and *abandonment*. As a theme, *alienation* was primarily linked to the inmates' experiences of personal loss. Such losses fell within the domains of family and culture. The inmates believed that they had endured significant disconnection from their family members and

traditional heritage. Furthermore, the participants indicated that much of the Inuit's cultural alienation had been a result of *Qallunaat* migration into the Arctic communities. The offenders stated that cultural reintegration and Elder instruction would be highly useful in reestablishing their connections to their families, communities and cultural background. The theme of *powerlessness/helplessness* emerged through life experiences that the offenders believed were largely out of their immediate control. Such areas included childhood abuse, parental alcohol problems, racial prejudism, as well as personal addictions to substances. The inmates suggested that increased communication within the prison and self-growth programs would be highly beneficial in allaying their feelings of "powerlessness". The theme of *inability to control/frustration* was integrally linked to the offenders' abuse of substances. Within the context of this theme, the inmates had become discouraged by the ineffectiveness of alcohol to assist them in "escaping" from problems, and yet angered by their perceived inability to moderate usage of drugs and alcohol. Furthermore, the implications of intoxication were pivotal within this theme, through the offenders' frustration towards their experiences of "blacking out", "wasting money", and "abusing of women". The participants recommended that cultural reintegration and the provision of encouragement for those who had relapsed would be imperative in alleviating their building anger related to substance abuse problems. *Low self-value* as a theme was developed primarily through the consequences of the offenders' substance abuse. The offenders' behaviour when intoxicated, particularly aggressive acts that had harmed their families, caused overwhelming feelings of personal shame and remorse. According to the inmates this area would be most effectively dealt with through Elder instruction, encouragement for offenders who have relapsed, and healing programs

related to personal grief and anger. The theme of *abandonment* emerged within the context of family losses, particularly the death of or physical separation from family members. The inmates believed that Elder involvement and programming which targeted grief issues would be most relevant in facilitating their healing in this domain. *Hope for the future*, although not a central theme, has been evidenced across the offenders' perceptions regarding their personal futures. The participants felt positively about their potential to repair and build relationships with their families, moderate substance usage, as well as attain employment upon their release from prison. The key programming suggestion that had been incorporated into each of the offenders' "hope for the future" was "combating grief and anger while building trust and identity" within all domains of their lives.

Each of the central themes was evidenced throughout the inmates' narratives in a variety of different life experiences. All of the participants had reported significant life difficulties, including various forms of abuse, loss, and destructive coping strategies, such as substance abuse and aggressive behaviour. Several of the offenders had endured and/or witnessed physical, sexual and emotional abuse during their childhood. Many inmates had lost one or both of their parental figures through abandonment or death. Loss of Inuit traditional knowledge had distanced the offenders from their culturally established roles within the family and community. In addition, racial prejudice against the Inuit, along with the imposed integration of "White ways", had contributed to the inmates' cultural confusion. Without appropriate guidance or support, the offenders felt angry and powerless to control the events in their lives. In efforts of coping with the difficulties they had endured, the majority of the participants turned to alcohol or drugs.

The disinhibition caused by substance use lead to criminal behaviour for many offenders. Further substance abuse eventually perpetuated a cyclical, negative pattern in the offenders' lives through recidivistic acts and repeat prison sentences.

Overall, difficult life situations experienced by the offenders had interfered with their ability to develop coherent cultural, as well as personal identities. Firstly, the offenders' history of maltreatment had caused them to believe that they deserved to be abused. Furthermore, the offenders perceived that abuse was inevitable, and began to utilize self-destruction to cope with abusive situations. Coping mechanisms, such as substance abuse, had provided the impetus for the offenders' initial criminal involvement. The inmates' perceptions of themselves as an Inuit and their value as a person began to revolve around their troubled life situations and subsequent negative coping behaviour. Thus, the offenders' personal identity became entangled in their status as an "alcohol abuser" and "criminal". This belief created a "self-fulfilling prophesy" by facilitating the offenders' recidivistic acts.

It is not suggested that the participants are unable to reformulate their opinions of themselves or modify their behaviour. Instead, the offenders each expressed an attitude that demonstrated their intentions to grow as an individual and hopefulness for the future. Through cultural re-integrative techniques, community supports, and the introduction of innovative programming tailored to the Inuit's unique experiences, the inmates believe their rehabilitation could be facilitated. Specifically, the offenders suggested that the integration of the Land programming with treatment strategies focusing on substance abuse, anger management and personal development would be beneficial to their progress and recovery.

It is important to note that these findings are characteristics of the Inuit inmate population incarcerated at the medium-security, B.C.C. facility during the specific time period of July to August 1999. The narratives of these individuals may not be representative of other Inuit offenders' experiences, such as those who are incarcerated at minimum or maximum-security facilities, or on probation/parole. Furthermore, these participants appeared to demonstrate more cultural knowledge and involvement than the Inuit Young Offender population. Thus, the theory that has been derived from interviews with this group of inmates should be interpreted with caution. Investigations in future are necessitated to determine if the theory which arose out of the narratives from this inmate group are representative of other Inuit offender populations in the Nunavut Territory.

Theory Structure

The theory, which arose out of the inmates' narratives analyzed in this project, falls within the existing framework of "Symbolic Interactionism" (see Mead, 1927; Blumer, 1969). According to this model, social interaction involves the conversion of behaviour into symbols, and the subsequent ascription of meaning to these symbols. Appropriate behaviour is learned and maintained as the symbols become internalized, and thus, are the bases for the future action of societal members (Scott, 1995). The construction of societal definitions and reformulation of meanings is then a continual process of interpretation based upon accepted and established understandings of meanings at that time. Through on-going interaction with other people, the identity is initially formed and subsequently modified. Cultural affiliations within a society guide specific social groups into accepted sets of symbols and shared meanings, thereby creating a cultural identity. In such a case as the Inuit society, where social meanings are undefined,

diluted and nebulous, a situation parallel to that of Durkheim's "anomie" is present. Symbolic dissensus, as well as the absence of understood definitions and meanings have not only caused a "disorientation to normative patterns", but substantially infringed upon the "social institutions" of the Inuit and hindered the formation of their cultural identity. The social action of a group is organized according to social institutions, which are "...the common responses on the part of all members of the community to a particular situation" (Scott, 1995, p. 105). Social institutions are integral components to the development of social bonds, which are the mechanism by which societal group members achieve cohesion and formulate social (cultural) identity (Scheff, 1990). Conformity to group norms is a process which can be understood through one's "attunement" to both formal and informal sanctions for behaviour. These sanctions result in pride or shame, and form a powerful vehicle by which to enforce appropriate interaction within a community (primary groups of family and locality) (Scheff, 1990). In societies, such as that of the Inuit, experiencing rapid transformations of member status (movement between classes, or subcultures), as well as those whose group identification has been based upon prejudicial or discriminatory processes, identity problems will be pervasive (Klapp, 1969). It has been recognized that the birth of modernity and acculturation to it has abridged the communal structure of society and need for solidarity. Consequently, isolation and individualization have become increasingly apparent amongst people. Hence, the Inuit have been confronted with a unique dilemma in which the ideal patterns of their social interaction and defined meaning systems have been eroded, and the actuality of their experience evidences a disintegration of that which had originally composed their social institutions. Furthermore, it is imperative to consider the

implications of the Inuit's absence of a comprehensive understanding of their social identity, in combination with their inhibited efforts to formulate changing, yet cohesive personal identities. Ultimately, such obstacles make the attainment of a balance between their individual and collective affiliations in the pursuit of self nearly impossible.

Mead and Blumer believed that the most important mechanism of change within society is the use of meanings as formative guides to interpretation and action. However, they recognized that such transformation must be timely and indicated that, "...in new or rapidly changing circumstances conflict and confusion may arise, and actions will not mesh together unless new interpretations can be arrived at and some kind accommodation is achieved" (Scott, 1995, p. 104). It is evident that the course of change within the Inuit lifestyle has been too rapid and extreme to capacitate adequate adaptation. Deviance, according to the symbolic interactionist perspective, results from small groups of individuals being alienated from the larger society. These individuals can become criminals through making depredations upon the larger community as a result of value discord. It would be suggested that the criminal activity evidenced in the North is a sinergistic consequence of the societal "out-grouping" experienced through Inuit cultural dislocation (Allport, 1954), as well as the individual "stigmatization" of the Inuit offender. The Inuit inmate is "stigmatized" by both members of the mainstream society, and the Inuit culture. It has been recognized in the study of social groups that, "We do not accurately know the cultural limits of 'human society', so exactly what these limits may be remains to be determined" (Parsons, 1951, p. 34). Yet, in the creation of social movement, these boundaries may be approached as a result of cultural confusion, contradictory norms, and personal frustrations or dissatisfactory life situations (King,

1956). Given the results of this study, it is suggested that this group of Inuit inmates is confronting these "cultural limits", and expressing the emotional sequelae of such painful and destructive experiences. Thus, these individuals are seeking healing and growth in their renewed pursuit of self.

Symbolic interactionism provides a voluntaristic model of human interaction and deviance, in which conflict succeeds the formation of socially-understood meaning systems. Yet, the symbolic interactionist perspective has been criticized for its inability to explain how small groups fit into the larger framework of social life (Scott, 1995). The explanation of social institutions existing at the level above that of the individual and their immediate affiliations are ambiguous and ineffectual. Many theoretical postulations that fit within the symbolic interactionist viewpoint assume a "national" or "societal" consensus, the existence of which is questionable in modernized society, which is predominated by individualism. As such, symbolic interactionism may be capable of explicating the individual's experience within the microcosmic dimension of social life, and yet has ignored the larger group's macroscopic vision, which incorporates the entire societal infrastructure. Moreover, symbolic interactionism focuses upon the subjective experience of one's social world and the symbolic structures of understood meaning (Habermas, 1981b; as cited in Scott, 1990). Yet, it is undeniable that an objective point of view, external to the observer exists. It would be invaluable to incorporate these two competing principles into a dualistic model, which recognizes the merits of both the subjective and objective world.

Interview Context

Characteristics of the researcher

It is important to consider the impact that the characteristics of the researcher may have had on the generation of themes, and formulation of theory in this study. Although attempts were made to ensure that the information presented has been analyzed in an unbiased manner, through qualitative techniques, the potential influence of the researcher's personal background is inevitable. Kazdin indicated that in qualitative research investigators contribute to the interpretations of the study based upon their unique perspective, and even when "...the perspective is made explicit, it can never be removed" (1998, p. 250). Furthermore, the viewpoints of the interviewer are inexorably entwined with the interpretation of meaning. This entanglement is created through personal experience, as well as exposure to previous literature and theoretical presuppositions (Kvale, 1996). Therefore, the researcher must endeavour to view the data through a theoretically sensitive "lens" (Strauss, & Corbin, 1990).

Qualitative theorists strongly encourage the researcher to identify and disclose how their implicit assumptions will affect formulation of theory (Rennie, Phillips, & Quartaro, 1988). Personal meaning systems and life history will greatly impact the interpretation of interview data. Through the reflection of personal experiences, subtle biases may be engendered in the results of an investigation. Researchers are also urged in qualitative techniques to unearth their personal "perspectival subjectivity" (Kvale, 1996). This notion is emphasized to ensure accurate development of theory, as researchers who investigate the identical realm of study may come to much different conclusions based upon their unique perspectival interpretations. In understanding the selection criteria for

specific research questions through the viewpoints taken during the interview the investigator will be able to provide strength and richness to the narrative interpretation. By utilizing such procedures, this researcher will attempt to identify her personal biases and worldview that have shaped her meaning system and the subsequent analysis of the research results.

The personal subjectivity with which these interviews were conducted and the narratives interpreted was based upon the perspectives of a twenty-two year-old, White, female, graduate student. The researcher's background is from a middle-class family, residing in a rural region of Northwestern Ontario. Undoubtedly, the researcher's lived experiences and worldview have shaped the construction of theory and research questions that guided this investigation. Specifically, the researcher's relative Northern upbringing and association with the Aboriginal population in this area may have influenced her formulation of the project and theory. The planning and implementation, as well as the wording of this study have been molded by the researcher's psychologically and culturally based perspectives, including her commitment to empirical research and the humanistic approach. Through adherence to grounded theory methodological techniques, it is hoped that the results of this analysis will accurately reflect the perspectives of the Inuit inmates who participated in this study. For these individuals, the veritable portrayal of their unique lived experiences and culturally defined meaning systems are of utmost importance. The participants attempted to clarify information to ensure that the previous exploitation endured by the Inuit would not be propagated by this study. It has been a strong commitment of this researcher to carefully understand and analyze the participants' narratives, such that the perceived meaning structure would be as representative of the

experience of these Inuit inmates as possible. It is with the utmost respect for the Inuit community and the participants of this project that this researcher presents the results of this investigation.

The procedures followed by this researcher in the attempt to reduce the influence of her personal experience and worldview included: (i) conducting the interviews in a semi-structured manner, with the inclusion of primarily open-ended questions. Any prompts or subsequent questions asked during the interview were expressed with purposeful neutrality; (ii) seeking clarification from the inmates for concepts that were unclear to the researcher; (iii) explaining the research procedures to the participants, especially measures of confidentiality, and ensuring that the information gathered through the narratives would be interpreted as sensitively as possible. The inmates would, thereby understand the investigative process and be assured that the analysis of their responses would be directed towards their benefit, and not denigrate their culture or lifestyle. Based on this perspective, it was hoped that the narratives would be as natural and truthful as possible in order to generate genuine knowledge regarding the offenders' experiences; (iv) utilizing grounded theory methodology, and providing verbatim excerpts from the narratives which further validated the formation of themes and categories; (v) meeting with the inmates on a second occasion to discuss their concerns about the project, or any further information which they desired to include. Clarification of the initial interpretation was also performed with selected inmates on this occasion. Inquiries of the second interview were open ended and the participants were encouraged to disagree or make modifications to the researcher's understanding of the narratives.

Although the researcher attempted to limit the influence of her personal meaning system on the interpretation and development of theory in the present study, the inevitable influence of the researcher's background should not be disregarded. Given that the researcher had not grown up in the Arctic, or been exposed to the Inuit's lifestyle, she had to utilize the knowledge gained from both academic study, as well as interaction with the Inuit population in the analysis of the narratives. In considering these sources, her cultural viewpoint focused on the belief that Inuit have been greatly mistreated over recent decades, through alienation from their traditional knowledge and cultural heritage, as well as racially discriminative processes. From this perspective, the researcher focused this study on the assumption that cultural and role loss have dramatically impacted the lives of the Inuit. Furthermore, it has been believed that such injustices have been pivotal in the creation and perpetuation of many social problems in the Nunavut Territory. Particular themes and categories were identified and examined across cases through the viewpoint that social problems are a function of the difficulties that the Inuit population has endured. If the researcher had endorsed an opposing perspective, for example, that criminal activity in the Nunavut Territory was representative of inherent problems within the character structure of Inuit individuals, a much different study would have been developed. Therefore, when evaluating the reality of the Inuit inmates' experiences, the reader must employ a "critical subjectivity" in their understanding of the outcome of this study based upon the researcher's perspectival basis.

Reactivity towards the interviewer

As the interviewer is a young, non-Inuit female, the communication of veracious information may have been impeded. The interview format focused on experiences of the

inmates' that could be stigmatizing and difficult for the offenders to discuss. Issues pertaining to domestic abuse, and the treatment of women, in particular, were areas in which the participants may have been defensive towards disclosure. Thus, the researcher attempted to make explicit her personal status, both as a woman and non-Inuit individual, and establish rapport with the participants on the basis that these characteristics would not cause her to "judge" their behaviour or beliefs. The researcher spent time socializing with the inmates during mealtimes and breaks to encourage their view of her as an interested individual instead of an outside observer. Throughout the interview, the offenders were assured that the purposes of the study were not judgmental or discriminatory, yet simply to develop a more detailed understanding of their lived experience. The Inuit prison employees were supportive of the goals of this study and attempted to facilitate cooperation by the inmates through learning about the study and portraying information about confidentiality and intent to the inmates. These employees were respected and trusted by the participants, and through their communications the inmates began to endow greater confidence to the integrity of the researcher. Lastly, interaction between the inmates regarding the project and the benefits of participating provided incentive for other inmates to volunteer. Many participants had expressed that the interview had enabled them to "talk about things", and hoped that their contribution would be "helpful to the rest of the prison population". Upon receiving such positive feedback, several inmates who had not initially volunteered approached the researcher within the prison to request the opportunity to take part in the project. Overall, the inmates suggested that the researcher had the "right start" both through her perceived sensitivity as a researcher of their unique population, as well as the content of the study.

Language barriers

Although all of the inmates who participated in this project were able to speak English, for most their knowledge of English was secondary to Inuktitut. Each individual varied in their ability to express emotions and articulate opinions in English, and at times, some inmates substituted Inuktitut terms in order to clearly convey their ideas. These terms were subsequently interpreted by other inmates participating in the project outside of the context of the specific interviews in order to protect confidentiality. Furthermore, the Inuit culture's linguistic communication is based upon an "oral tradition", in which long silences are customary. The researcher attempted to view these hesitations accordingly, only taking particular note of their occurrence when the silence appeared "awkward" or "forced". Many offenders expressed that their responses may have been more adept had the interview been conducted in Inuktitut. However, the researcher judged that the participants had provided acceptably coherent and comprehensive responses. In cases in which the researcher was uncertain about the intended meaning of the response, further inquiries were made. Yet, such attempts at clarification do not indicate that the researcher has accurately perceived the participants' beliefs and ideas.

The following sections detail the abuse, and loss encountered in the life experiences of the Inuit offenders who participated in this project and compare these results to existing research on Aboriginal populations, with particular attention paid to the Inuit. Specifically, areas related to education, colonization, as well as familial and cultural alienation processes are discussed. Following, the reported coping mechanisms, including substance use and aggressive behaviour, utilized by the offenders are conceptualized within the context of Aboriginal responses to cultural and identity loss.

Lastly, the offenders' recommendations for the development of efficacious rehabilitation strategies based upon cultural reintegration and personal development will be paralleled to innovative First Nations' correctional initiatives and strategies.

Life Experiences

The life experiences discussed by the participants were often negative, through experiences of educational, colonial, and familial abuse. Although the focus on individual emotional reactions to trauma has been suggested to result in a syndrome much like "post-traumatic stress disorder" amongst the Inuit, it is suggested that a distinct dynamic is at play in the unique experience of this population. It has been proposed that the emotional sequelae to the negative life experiences of many of the Inuit would be more accurately described as a form of "systemic shock". Through repeat episodes of trauma, including various aspects of abuse and loss, individuals become unable to fully recover emotionally and subsequently have insufficient coping resources available for the confrontation of future life difficulties. Moreover, as such ordeals are experienced by the Inuit as an entire community, it becomes difficult to provide support for one another's grief, as everyone is attempting to contend with their own feelings regarding the painful situations. The following sections of personal violations encountered by the participants depict a portion of the trauma that each individual has confronted through education and modernization processes. Issues related to family abuse will be addressed in the section regarding family disintegration.

"Children in limbo": Educational trauma

The educational experiences of the participants were often contradictory. While the inmates enjoyed attending school and learning, they were forced to endure various

forms of abuse within the context of their educational pursuits. Of the offenders, half had attended residential schooling. Although changes have been made to the educational system since the implementation of the Canadian federal school system, in 1975, it should be noted that the abuses endured by the participants encompassed both residential and public schooling experiences. Physical abuse at school was endured by many of the participants as an accepted form of discipline. They believed that their instructor's position of authority gave the teacher the right to strike children in the class. Sexual abuse, by teachers at school, although perceived as immoral by the participants, remained undisclosed while they were children because of the offenders' feelings of embarrassment, and shame. The violations incurred by these individuals were not only in the form of physical abuse and neglect, but through coercion to conform to European educational standards and to abandon Inuit cultural knowledge. Through exploitative schooling policies and objectives, as well as the lack of encouragement from family members to attend school, the participants became trapped in a position of "limbo". Ultimately, the abuses and hardships the inmates had endured through schooling caused them to relinquish their academic careers, and pursue employment and family responsibilities without a strong educational background. This further disadvantaged them in the attainment of lucrative or prominent private and government occupations as the economic climate of Nunavut had begun to focus upon literacy and educational knowledge.

Literature has demonstrated the tremendous negative impact of both early residential and community schooling projects upon the Aboriginal population (Brody, 1991; Mihesuah, 1996; Condon, 1988). Specifically amongst the Inuit population, a great

deal of attention has focused on the brutal treatment of children at residential schools throughout the early decades of colonization (Calliou, 1997; Brody, 1991; Friesen, 1997; Creery, 1993). Such investigations emphasize the atrocities endured by children who were relocated to residential schools, and suffered sexual, physical and emotional torment at the hands of their instructors and priests. Through episodes of sexual and physical assault, witnessing alcohol abuse by instructors, and separation from familiar surroundings, Inuit children were forced to endure significant emotional pain. Only in recent times have some of the survivors of these atrocities been able to speak about their experiences and be helped within their community and family (McMillan, 1995). Specifically, issues of health and social concern regarding present alcohol abuse, suicide and family violence of the victims have been linked to residential schooling experiences.

It was hoped that through educational policy changes, which integrate cultural and European knowledge, schooling for the Inuit children would be improved (Chartrand, 1982; Brody, 1991). However, in recent studies it has been noted that Aboriginal youth in North America continue to have the lowest rates of graduation from secondary school (Mihesuah, 1996). Particularly for Inuit, the number of occupational and lifestyle alternatives being presented in today's society has been perceived as overwhelming (Condon, 1988). Furthermore, the Inuit children continue to be required to forego much of their cultural knowledge through an imposed, Southern educational system and instruction from White teachers (Simon, 1996). At present, it is hoped that through the development of the Nunavut Department of Education, further policy revisions may be directed towards a more viable integration of the Inuit and European standards of

education. Optimally, this will facilitate a "living and learning academic philosophy" for the Inuit youth (Simon, 1996; Legare, 1997).

Colonization: Authority and alienation

The participants viewed modernization of Inuit society through Southern processes from differing perspectives. Although many recognized that the impact of colonization has primarily been destructive to the traditional Inuit way of life, it was also noted that White man had made some invaluable contributions to the Inuit society. The offenders' beliefs regarding the aspects of White culture which have been damaging to the North included the introduction of "White man's things", the domination of White people in the new employment sector, as well as the existence of discriminatory practices against the Inuit. Conversely, medical, housing, and educational advancements were viewed by many of the participants as highly beneficial improvements for the Inuit. Overall, the participants indicated that colonization processes had primarily impacted their lives as Inuit through cultural alienation, and displacement from their own society. According to the inmates, the Inuit had not been provided with adequate recourse for assimilation or protection of their cultural heritage.

Much literature has been written regarding the impact of White people migrating to the Northern region of Canada (Adams, 1989; Dorais, 1997; Creery, 1993). Much of these investigations focus upon the changes and accommodations that the Inuit have been forced to endure and accept, yet have not confirmed whether these changes have been detrimental or advantageous. In accordance with the participants' narratives, the changes in lifestyle created through modernization processes have exerted a mixed effect upon Inuit society (Elliot, 1971). Ultimately, the impact of colonization has caused the Inuit to

abandon their cultural heritage and become dependent upon both negative and positive imposed "White ways" of living (Frideres, 1998). Furthermore, the offenders had identified acts of discrimination, both overt and covert, within the Justice system. Such discriminatory practices were viewed by many of the inmates as simply a representation of the relative position of power and authority occupied by White individuals in the North.

Many of the detrimental aspects of modernization are being confronted by Inuit self-government initiatives. It is apparent through evidence of social problems such as impoverished living, high suicide rates, and disproportionate crime rates, that the governmental arrangements over recent decades have not focused upon the best interests of the Inuit communities (Lanken, & Vincent, 1999). As indicated by the participants, Nunavut has been created to meet the need for empowerment and cultural protection amongst the Inuit. Self-government has been identified as an integral factor in allowing the Inuit population to regain control of their resources, culture, and personal lives (Simon, 1997). Through the development of strategies that focus specifically upon the Inuit, cultural reintegration may be facilitated, and their unique needs may be targeted in the eradication of social problems, thereby allowing recovery to occur.

Issues related to the racism inflicted by the White upon the Inuit will be more difficult to address. Researchers who have investigated the effect of colonization have identified aspects related to institutional changes, as well as governmental policies that infringed upon the rights of the Aboriginal people (Adams, 1989; Creery, 1993). Very few literature sources have specifically addressed and dealt with the implications of racism towards the Inuit. This may be a result of an institutionalized limitation of

research conducted with the Inuit. Many of the studies in the North are conducted by Caucasian individuals who may attempt to confront their personal biases, but might unwittingly neglect the observation of racism displayed by White individuals. Furthermore, it may be difficult for White researchers to recognize the existence of covert racist practices. However, upon analysis of the Aboriginal society, it is evident that White people are hired for more prestigious employment positions, obtain more suitable housing facilities, and encounter less conflict with the Justice system (Frideres, 1998). Through programs encouraging cultural sensitivity and instruction of the unique Inuit heritage upon the introduction of White individuals to the North, it is hoped that apparent racism displayed against the Inuit will be eliminated.

Losing Connections: Family and Culture

A central component of the participants' personal descriptions was the focus upon their roles both within their family and culture. Some of the offenders felt dislocated from their family, and believed they had lost a definitive cultural connection. Even of the offenders who reported a continued close connection with their family, many felt culturally alienated. These factors posed difficulties for the offenders when attempting to accurately depict their identity. When contextualized within familial and cultural responsibilities, which have been absolutely integral in Inuit traditional knowledge, several of the offenders found themselves unable to attest to true feelings of complete connectedness, and struggled to determine their role within society.

Family disintegration

The offenders' narratives suggested that they perceived a wide range of closeness, from absolute separation to connection, within both their immediate and extended family

relationships. The array of relationship types consisted of both positive and negative influences with different family members. Some of the offenders described a close family unit, comprised of their parents and siblings. These offenders' parents had provided emotional support and instruction of cultural skills, along with being a positive role model for the inmates throughout their childhood. Most of these offenders had continued to rely on their parents for support and guidance into adulthood. Furthermore, these offenders had been encouraged to learn from and teach their siblings traditional knowledge. Often, as a result, they became closer to and have maintained strong ties with their brothers and sisters. Through familial cultural teachings, these offenders had simultaneously developed a close connection with their family and their culture.

Although most of the offenders reported that a close family support network was very important in the Inuit culture, many inmates had experienced tumultuous histories with their parents and siblings. These offenders had encountered a great deal of family-related trauma while growing up. Problems most frequently suggested by the offenders' narratives included family violence, alcohol abuse, abandonment, and death. As children, some of the offenders had often been left to fend for themselves and siblings while their parents drank or gambled. Many inmates had been abused, and were not provided with adequate food or emotional support, thus leading them to feel neglected by and alienated from their parents. According to the offenders, much of the abuse they had experienced during childhood was tied to parental substance abuse, financial difficulties, or marital discord. Others had lost their parents through parental separation or death. These offenders felt confusion, and anger when attempting to understand why their parent had left them. Some of the participants had also endured a dissolution of their relationship

with their brothers and sisters. The offenders attributed the lack of closeness with siblings to various causes including abuse, separation, and substance use problems.

Many of the offenders indicated that they had endured significant forms of family dysfunction including, physical, sexual, and emotional abuse, as well as neglect during their childhood. As indicated previously, these episodes of abuse had occurred both within the school and home environments of the participants. Yet, abuse within the home was much more difficult to disclose, according to the inmates. This resulted from the conception that Inuit familial relationships were extremely close and tolerant, with corporal punishment being utilized only in extreme cases of disobedience. Therefore, as children, the offenders were placed in a position of conflict between traditional values and personal security. The inmates' relationship with their parents was hampered by abuse, yet they could not reveal this information for fear of being perceived as troublemakers who had caused the problem. Furthermore, upon the integration of child protective services in the North, the children were afraid of being taken away from their parents (McKay, 1990).

The offenders' current focus regarding familial supports appeared to be upon their immediate relationships, specifically with their partners and children. The offenders recognized that significant strain had been placed upon their current relationships because of the history of abuse, neglect and disrespect between themselves and their partners. However, most of the offenders strove to repair this damage through participating in counselling, and expressed continued devotion towards the reestablishment of their relationship. This goal would be accomplished, according to the participants, primarily through their cessation of excessive drinking and reassertion to build closeness with their

partners. Furthermore, the offenders desired to make amends with their children for previous abusive behaviour towards both the child and the child's mother. The participants' relationships with their children were hoped to be facilitated through the same strategies by which the offenders intended to repair the connections with their partners.

Much of the literature has described Inuit familial relationships as close and interconnected across the generations (Brody, 1991; Condon, 1988). Research has indicated that the traditional Inuit forms of discipline are primarily non-verbal, involving control over angry outbursts and limited corporal punishment (Briggs, 1970; Honigmann, & Honigmann, 1971). It would be suggested that this literature is representative of much of the Inuit population, and therefore, not misinformed. Close connections with parents and siblings facilitate the attainment of cultural knowledge and healthy self esteem for the children growing up within these families. However, the experiences of these inmates suggest that there is another sector of familial relationships that evidences the social impact of alcohol and family abuse, neglect and abandonment. This may be representative of a small sector of family function amongst the Inuit, yet it drastically effects the lives of the children who grow up in such circumstances.

Such experiences of abuse are not uncommon amongst children living on First Nations' reservations. Several studies have attempted to investigate the incidence and causes of child abuse in Native communities (McKay, 1990; Stout, & Bruyere, 1997). However, similar investigations regarding child maltreatment and neglect within the Territories have only recently been addressed through research in Inuit communities. Attention has been increasingly devoted to this issue throughout Canada as Native and

Inuit individuals have begun to openly recount their experiences of family violence (Stout. & Bruyere. 1997). The Davis Inlet People's Inquiry (Fouillard. 1995) was one of the first comprehensive studies that spoke specifically to many of the issues of childhood trauma addressed within the participants' narratives. This inquiry brought to the forefront issues related to child maltreatment and the ensuing cultural loss and identity confusion (Fouillard. 1995). When reflecting upon the lives of the Inuit population in Davis Inlet. the Inquiry found that many children had been frequently left at home alone. inadequately fed. as well as abused and/or witnesses of family assault when their parents were intoxicated. Several of these children. now adolescents. have attempted to cope with life problems through substance use.

Specifically. within the context of this paper. the inmates attributed the impact of family dysfunction to have contributed significantly to their present life situation of imprisonment. Such information has recently come to light through several inquiries related to the Inuit and Aboriginal peoples (Stout. & Bruyere. 1997). It has been noted that compared to the rest of the Canadian population. Aboriginal populations have five times the rate of child welfare involvement (Frideres. 1998). Davis Inlet. along with many other Inuit communities. has witnessed the impact of family disintegration and dysfunction upon the children (Simon. 1996). Such displacement of the Inuit children has been suggested to result in the inordinately high rates of suicide attempts and solvent abuse by the youth (Simon. 1996).

According to Inuit Elders and residents of these communities. it is imperative for the Inuit to care for and respect their young children to ensure that the pattern of violence is not perpetuated in the future (Riddell. 1990). Further research should investigate the

steps necessitated for healing to occur within Inuit families when attempting to resolve situations involving child abuse. In addition, it is important to devote attention to strategies that would facilitate the prevention of difficulties between Inuit parents and their children. Mechanisms to alleviate the stress caused by financial difficulties, cultural displacement, and previous abuse issues may be particularly useful for Inuit families.

Cultural knowledge

Although cultural traditions had been maintained in the lives of most of the participants, a large number of the inmates felt limited in the extent of their cultural connection. The integral components of traditional Inuit culture had gradually been ebbed away by the influence of the "White ways" in the North. Inuktitut language retention, communal sharing, and knowledge of survival skills on the land had each been impacted by modernization processes and are being lost by the Inuit. Furthermore, the offenders' narratives suggested that the cultural realignment towards the *Qallunaat* lifestyle has led to the abuse of alcohol, and subsequent apathy towards learning or participating in cultural skills. Even amongst the offenders who express a continued involvement in cultural knowledge, there has been a shift towards monetary importance, as the purchase of hunting and carving tools is costly. Therefore, fees for services are being sought by the Inuit for guiding expeditions and carvings, instead of the traditional models of sharing and trading. Changes to the Inuit ways of life have drastically impacted the lives of the participants, primarily through situating them in a position of societal "limbo". Their feelings of disconnection between traditional culture and modernity have become further emphasized through the loss of traditional family roles and responsibilities. Consequently, as the understanding and importance of Inuit

traditional knowledge have diminished the formation of identity for these participants has been compromised. Overall, cultural alienation amongst the inmates was assessed through the narratives to have resulted in feelings of "loss" and "emptiness".

Cultural and identity dilemmas have been paramount to the difficulties endured by each individual of the Inuit population. A great number of investigations regarding the Inuit population have surrounded the notion of cultural loss and alienation (Dorais, 1997; Monture-Angus, 1996; Chartrand, 1987). These studies have emphasized the dramatic change in the importance and possession of cultural skills for the Inuit over the past four decades. The offenders interviewed each fell within this period of cultural dislocation and inversion towards "White ways". Literature has emphasized that the rapid movement from a primarily nomadic lifestyle to modernized society has left many Inuit incapable of living their culturally prescribed lifestyle, yet without the tools necessitated to survive in a White societal infrastructure (McMillan, 1995). Many of the Inuit men have abandoned their traditional cultural existence to pursue work within the industrialized social structure (Dorais, 1997). These Inuit men became caught amidst two cultural worlds. Those who attempted to survive in the White world and join the work force were regarded by their fellow Inuit as "too much like the White man" and their inexperience was perceived by the White people as "stupidity" (Brody, 1991). Whereas, others who attempted to live their life on the land were criticized for trying to be a "real Inuk", and pursuing a lifestyle with no economic future. Such interpretations have alienated Inuit individuals from both their cultural background and the existent employment system, causing low self-esteem and role confusion.

According to Simon (1996), the Inuit should strive to reincorporate a sense of pride and dignity within their lives and themselves. Amongst her suggestions, Simon places emphasis on the family and community in cultural healing. Specifically, through the reintegration of cultural traditions, a greater sense of autonomy in decision making, and the opportunity to rebuild a sense of identity and optimism for the future, it is hoped that Inuit may rebuild their cultural and familial connections. In addition, self-government strategies are being directed specifically to the unique needs of the Inuit, and allowing for the implementation of these initiatives (Lanken, & Vincent, 1999). It is hoped, in future, that cultural reintegrative techniques will facilitate the Inuit to incorporate traditional knowledge within the current economic structure existent in the North.

Coping

Learning negative coping strategies

Several of the participants indicated that their methods of coping with life difficulties had been learned from their parents and peer groups. Through role modeling and peer pressure the offenders were encouraged to engage in such acts as substance use, as well as impulsive and aggressive behaviour, including the abuse of women. For a time, these coping mechanisms had proven useful, allowing the participants to relax or escape from their problems. The positive feelings associated with avoidance techniques were often reinforcing. Thus, their coping strategies began to fit within a Skinnerian reinforcement paradigm. The reinforcement provided through developed coping techniques was unpredictably beneficial, as drinking and aggressive behaviour were not consistently rewarding. Therefore, a partial reinforcement schedule was created, in which

the attainment of a positive result following a behaviour was based upon an inconsistent and unpredictable schedule. This type of reinforcement schedule has been evidenced as the contingency most resistant to extinction (Bitterman, 1975; as cited in Zimbardo, & Gerrig, 1999). Many of the coping strategies adopted by the inmates had initially been attempts to avoid negative aspects of their environment. Yet, the maladaptive coping strategies led to lowered self-value, and became detrimental to the offenders' life. The coping strategies ultimately began to "control" the offenders, and were typically one of the main factors contributing to the inmates' current sentences and previous incarcerations.

Substance use. The majority of the offenders reported substance use problems in their lives. Overall, the offenders reported that alcohol and drug use were serving a temporary function in their life: to deal with life problems. Substance use was related on a continuum of enjoyment, escapism, control, disinhibition, frustration, and lastly despair. Patterns of intoxication and getting high had become evident in the offenders' lives and many of them considered that they were trapped in a "cycle of destruction". This cycle resulted in the perpetuation and exacerbation of life problems through drinking and drug use.

Several of the offenders had integrated alcohol abuse patterns into their personal identity. For some, alcohol had become the central focus of their life, spending all of their money on the attainment of alcohol, neglecting family responsibilities to engage in drinking, and losing interest in hunting and the outdoors as apathy towards personal fulfillment was engendered in their lives. As such, the inmates described themselves within the context of the problem instead of as an individual with a specific life

challenge. Many of the offenders had dichotomized their identity into a "sober self" and "drunk self". These participants had begun to utilize their alcohol abuse patterns and negative behaviour when intoxicated as a central component of their personal identity. This was highly damaging to their self-concept. The inmates felt powerless through their perceived inability to control alcohol consumption. Repeated attempts to abstain from alcohol had caused may of the offenders to believe that they were a failure. In addition. the periods of excessive intoxication tied to the high incidence of domestic violence had led to offenders to even greater feelings of worthlessness. self-contempt and low self-value.

Involvement in drinking. as well as substance addiction. has received a great deal of attention in literature about First Nations individuals (Mihesuah. 1996: Friesen. 1997: Synnott. 1996: Stout. & Bruyere. 1997). Several theories have been developed surrounding the use of alcohol by Aboriginals. including escapism (Milhesuah. 1996). physiological intolerance (Williamson. 1974). power-conflict (Hamer. & Steinbring. 1980). as well as social position (Synnott. 1996). Although there is a significant amount of evidence relating to social problems amongst First Nations individuals. the stereotypes of the "drunk Indian" and explanations of alcohol abuse resultant of physiological factors predominate much of this area of study (Milhesuah. 1996). In keeping with the responses of the participants. few studies have investigated how the social and identity problems encountered by the Aboriginal population may abet the use of alcohol as a recourse and coping aide. Furthermore. if alcohol abuse was contextualized as a coping strategy for societal dilemmas instead of solely as an addiction or inherent problem of Native peoples. the inability to control alcohol use would be placed within the realm of personal decision

and not biological predeterminisim. It is imperative in the discovery of adequate forms of treatment and prevention of substance use for the Inuit that theories be reformulated to identify and confront the unique social problems faced by this population. As such, alcohol abuse would be viewed as a coping strategy, although typically maladaptive, instead of a predestined lifestyle. From such a holistic perspective, drinking behaviour would not comprise the individual's identity. Instead, alcohol abuse would be defined as a challenging life component, which in combination with several other domains of personal experience creates the entire person (McKay, 1990).

The alcohol-anger link. Many of the inmates indicated that the incident of violence for which they were imprisoned was partially a result of intoxication. The expression of anger and its relation to the disinhibiting effects of alcohol was, thus indicated as central to the offenders' commission of the offense for which they were currently incarcerated. A variety of social, cultural and familial factors had compounded to create the significant amount of anger that the inmates had dealt with daily. As a group, the offenders had been confronted with death, abandonment, various abuses, and discrimination. Cumulatively, according to the offenders' narratives, the result of these difficulties had resulted in role confusion, as well as cultural and identity alienation, and ultimately anger. Over their lifetime, the offenders had primarily restrained their anger, sought to deal with their difficulties through repression, or yielded acceptance to their "inferior" social status as Inuit. These methods caused greater strife for the inmates, and eventually necessitated disemboguement. Even upon attempting to release hostile feelings, the offenders had primarily utilized self-destructive behaviour, such as drug and alcohol use, to abate their emotions. Ultimately, the anger harboured by several of the

offenders overtook them and incurred their engagement in aggressive outbursts and assaultive acts. Typically, the offenders' expression of anger was experienced while under the disinhibiting effects of intoxication.

The experience of angry emotions in relation to enduring childhood abuse, loss and discrimination has been documented across much literature (Griffiths, 1990; Fouillard, 1995). In particular reference to the plight of the Inuit, only in the past decade has documentation indicated the extent to which dramatic societal changes have negatively impacted their society (Matthiasson, 1996; Dickason, 1992). Furthermore, much of this information has been gathered by Southern investigators, from a White perspective. Investigations conducted in the North have suggested that Inuit have a significant amount of legitimate contempt towards the present society in which they have been forced to participate. It is important to recognize that this contempt may be a displacement of hurt, confusion or fear that is not being appropriately dealt with in the North (Riddell, 1990). In 1971, researcher Hugh Brody indicated in his book, The People's Land, that the tremendous and rapid change to the Inuit lifestyle was drastically affecting the Inuit's ability to assimilate with Elder family members, find appropriate roles, and function as a collective unit. Furthermore, he suggested that the "...tension was most conspicuous when there is a drink involved" (p. 22), and predicted that violence against women and children would become more common as problems with alcohol developed. Much of what was speculated to ensue in the Inuit society has been evidenced in today's Northern communities. As reported by Griffiths, et al. (1995) reports of violent and property crime in the Baffin region were significantly disproportionate related to the rest of Canada. In addition, the rates of alcohol abuse have been steadily increasing in the

North (Fouillard, 1995), with little moderation being exercised amongst those who drink regularly (Condon, 1988; Brody, 1991). The link between these two factors, immoderate drinking and physical violence, within Inuit communities has been demonstrated in several studies (Honigmann, & Honigmann, 1971; Condon, 1988).

Acts of aggression: The abuse of women. Several of the offenders were incarcerated for acts of violence or sexual assault against women. These offenders suggested that while intoxicated they had "lost control", and even "blacked-out". Most recalled being angry or frustrated with their partner immediately prior to the episode of abuse. The offenders reported that such incidents had primarily been a result of their attempts to exert authority in their relationship with their common-law wife. Intoxication had been an integral factor in much of their violent behaviour against their partner, through the escalation of arguments and disinhibition. Furthermore, the offenders had confronted issues of jealousy, anger, and control, especially when under the influence of alcohol. Infidelity, insubordination by their partners, as well as the relative confusion faced by the inmates regarding their position within the family compounded in the offenders' commission of a violent act against their common-law wife. Moreover, the participants expressed an inability to define both their own and their partners' appropriate gender-roles as having rendered them vulnerable to discomfort and frustration. Such feelings frequently resulted in aggressive outbursts by the offenders in an effort to establish their status and role as the "man of the household". Several of the offenders suggested that they continued to adhere to the traditional roles of women. Thus, the inmates suggested that they had difficulty integrating principles of respect and equality

into their relationship, while their partners were perceived to be acting in noncompliance of culturally-defined roles and responsibilities.

Consistent with the offenders' reports, substance abuse has been found to be a predisposing condition for family violence in Aboriginal communities (Dumont-Smith, & Sioui-Labelle, 1993). This is not to suggest that intoxication is the key factor in the generation of family violence but a component, which contributes to the occurrence of spousal assault. Although the validity of "blacking-out" accounts has been questioned, it has been supported that the disinhibition experienced through alcohol consumption may invoke the release of restrained anger and result in aggressive behaviour (Synnott, 1996; Boyatzis, 1976). The development of useful communication strategies within Inuit spousal relationships may alleviate some of the tensions Inuit males feel towards their partner, and prevent their expression of emotions through violent acts. Further studies must be performed to investigate how abusive males could more productively diffuse their anger instead of through acts of spousal violence.

Research has indicated that upon the introduction of modernity into Inuit communities, the gender divisions in the family and workforce became obscured (Reimer, 1996). Currently, men and women occupy various familial and employment positions, in which at times women held higher status than men. Although traditionally defined roles have been altered, the acceptance of modified gender-based responsibilities has not been fully integrated into the Inuit society (Condon, & Stern, 1997). As a result, confusion and conflict have developed within Inuit families. Evidence of increased domestic violence, and widespread female victimization suggests that although gender barriers have been confronted, men are reacting adversely to the nebulous roles (Griffiths, et al, 1996).

Several strategies have been designed to target the high incidence of both physical and sexual assaults in the North (Riddell, 1990; Fouillard, 1995). One program utilized specifically with the Inuit population of Iqaluit was B.A.S.H. Although the researcher investigated this area, she was unable to ascertain the meaning of this acronym. However, the B.A.S.H. program was developed in the late 1980s, through a cooperative effort between victims of abuse, abusers, and community personnel to target issues related to both substance abuse and the subsequent episodes of domestic assault. Both victims and offenders (with and without criminal convictions) could participate in this program. The program had two main objectives, the first to heal and the second to learn. Through these goals, B.A.S.H. endeavoured to allow the Inuit to meet regularly, communicate in Inuktitut, and confront the anger, hurt and confusion they faced. Outcome studies have not been performed on this program, thus its efficacy remains unknown. However, it would be suggested that reports indicated the participants of this program had attended as required and found B.A.SH. useful until its termination in the early 1990s. The further development of programs targeting the issues related to the victimization of women and substance abuse are integral in the prevention of violence against Inuit women.

Perpetuation of life difficulties. Overall, attempts by the offenders to deal with the difficulties they have experienced have created further strain in their lives. Although the participants had developed coping strategies that were useful at the time of the trauma to survive, many of these mechanisms have proven dysfunctional in the years that followed. One of the greatest problems of the maladaptive coping strategies was that the employment of such tools often led to the creation of further life difficulties, as

experienced by the participants. As noted above, the primary forms of coping included alcohol and/or drug use, as well as attempts to control by aggression and intimidation. Through the utilization of these strategies and the negative circumstances generated by such coping responses, the offenders encountered greater problems within their families, communities, and personal lives.

***Ikaliaktalik* (Help the Inmates): Intervention/Recommendations**

Problems with prison: Cultural understanding and integration

The narratives of the offenders indicated that the correctional system in Nunavut has not adequately met the unique needs of this population. There have been many inherent flaws of the imposed Southern correctional punishment model, as it acts in direct opposition to the Inuit ways of intervening with criminal behaviour. The inmates indicated that covert discriminatory practices, in addition to programming concerns, were paramount in the inefficient delivery of justice to the Inuit. Regarding cultural prejudism, problems pertaining to relations with guards, along with cultural insensitivity and ignorance contributed to the obstacles faced in the recovery of the Inuit inmates. The offenders found it difficult to communicate with guards who not only did not speak their language, but were unaware of the unique experiences faced through living in Northern communities. Moreover, according to the inmates, some of the guards expressed racist ideas regarding the Inuit population and would treat White offenders with greater respect.

The structure of programming presented another set of problematic issues for the offenders. Initial attempts had been made to incorporate instruction of and participation in cultural knowledge within rehabilitation strategies. However, the offenders believed that emphasis should be placed upon integrating cultural knowledge with counselling

objectives that targeted their specific difficulties. Programming that addressed issues related to substance use problems, anger management, and previous abuse issues would best serve the needs of this offender population. Overall, such strategies would promote healing through enabling the inmates to simultaneously utilize both cultural and psychological knowledge. The valuable aspects of the Inuit cultural heritage would be coupled with efficacious treatment models in the areas most salient to the individuals involved in the Nunavut correctional system. In addition, the offenders stipulated that programming should target issues that they face daily in their home communities. Rehabilitation, according to the inmates' narratives, had thus far been based upon their experiences "within the prison" context, instead of demonstrating how the information learned in treatment could be transferred into "real life" situations. It is integral, in the effective implementation of rehabilitation programming, that the offenders are able to recall and utilize the newly acquired knowledge not only while they are incarcerated, but once they have returned home.

There has been little documented about how to provide for the unique needs of the Inuit offender population. However, literature does indicate that the current model of justice in the Territorial regions has fallen short of adequately preventing criminal involvement and rehabilitating those who have committed crimes and been incarcerated (Griffiths, et al., 1995; LaPrairie, 1992). Statistics of offenders, based on youth crime, recidivism, and general criminal activity, in Nunavut are disproportionately high and continue to rise. Many of the offenders released from Northern correctional facilities have not been rehabilitated but instead have entered a vicious cycle of relapse, recidivism, and continued incarceration. This cycle is destructive to the Inuit offender: the individual

who truly knows he does not belong in prison. In order to remedy this recidivistic pattern amongst the Inuit offenders, it is imperative that justice initiatives are designed as a collaboration between the Inuit-directed solutions and Canadian Criminal Code stipulations. It is especially important to listen to the voices of the Inuit offenders. Many Native communities have implemented correctional programs based upon sentencing circles (McMillan, 1995), Elder involvement within the prison (Waldram, 1997), as well as alternative youth care facilities (Mourot, & Bird, 1990) with moderate success. Although such treatment designs may not work with the Inuit population, it should be recognized that through innovative efforts that devoted attention to the unique needs of Aboriginal people in other communities, recidivism was notably decreased. Thus, it would be hoped that in formulating healing projects aimed specifically at the Inuit offenders' social challenges, rehabilitation programming could appropriately meet the needs of this population.

Identity development through personal knowledge

The offenders' narratives converged upon the central theme of *alienation*, represented in a variety of domains. Of primary importance was the difficulty that each participant had in describing themselves and determining their own identity. The offenders, as a group, emphasized their lack of connection with their family, community and culture. Most of the participants viewed closeness and interrelatedness as integral to the Inuit, thus their perceived disconnection was greatly disturbing, causing significant emotional turmoil through frustrated attempts to establish an appropriate identity.

It is believed, through the results of this study, that several of the participants had been incarcerated based upon their inability to situate themselves in clearly defined roles

within the Inuit society. The alienation felt by many of the participants in an array of societal sectors may have resulted in impediments in developing concrete cultural and subsequently produced personal identity. As a consequence, without an understanding of their cultural roles or self, the offenders experienced a gradual building of hurt and anger. Ultimately, the offenders' growing frustration, resultant of their search for cultural and self-definition, manifested in their commitment of criminal offenses. Many of the offenders were seeking, during their time in prison, to initiate the formulation of their own identity. Primarily, this was hoped to be accomplished through reestablishing cultural ties, and investigating how changes to their society have resulted in the inmates' experienced displacement. Moreover, many of the offenders hoped that through cultural reintegration and personal development programming offered at B.C.C., they would be provided with a solid foundation upon which to commence the formation of their culturally integrated, and yet individually created identity.

Much literature has suggested that First Nations individuals are in a state of cultural and identity crisis based upon the difficulty of integrating the ways of mainstream society with their cultural heritage (Frideres, 1998; Dickason, 1992). The cultural transition for the Inuit has been encountered more recently and has been experienced as a more rapid and dramatic change. As described previously, the Inuit have endured tremendous transformation to their cultural existence over recent decades. Much like most Aboriginal groups, the identity development amongst the Inuit population has shifted substantially towards the incorporation of "White ways", and abandonment of the traditional Inuit lifestyle. Yet, neither a completely modernized integration or Inuit lifestyle abdication have occurred, the consequence of which has been the perceived

displacement of many Inuit individuals who grew up during this time period (Condon, 1988; Matthiasson, 1992; Dorais, 1997). The cultural transformation encountered by the Inuit has been particularly damaging because it was not initiated by their people, but instead imposed upon them by White society. The Inuit were expected not only to successfully respond to the changes in their lives but to accept the new manner of living as superior to their former existence. If investigated from an anthropological view, cultural systems are recognized to be flexible and creative processes, within which humans can adapt to and shape their experiences (Matthiasson, 1992). However, it has also been noted that the power of the dominant class, in this case the colonial administration and government, frequently circumscribe the directions in which cultural development proceeds. In the lives of the Inuit, the objectives of the dominant grouping intruded upon their traditional existence, which was chiefly unsolicited and forced them into an unfamiliar way of life.

In recent times, the magnitude of the impact that such profound changes have had upon the Inuit population has been recognized (Simon, 1996). The dangers associated with identity confusion, such as substance abuse, criminal behaviour, and suicide, have demonstrated the exigency in arriving at a comprehensive cultural and individual identity as an Inuit person. It is integral for the Inuit, at this time, to exercise ingenuity in protecting their cultural heritage while simultaneously establishing their identity as distinct individuals in a modernized society. Upon the development of this distinctive identity, Inuit will be assisted in the determination of their appropriate roles and responsibilities. Subsequently, with the provisions of a concrete cultural structure

displaced individuals, such as the participants of this project, will be provided with an essential element for the development of their own personal identity and recovery.

Limitations of the Present Study

Research of the Inuit offenders in Nunavut was subject to inherent limitations. Characteristics of the researcher, language difficulties, and culturally-defined frames of reference may have created obstacles for qualitative data collection and interpretation. Furthermore, consideration must be given to the limitations of interview procedures, time, location, and specificity of the group of offenders. Aspects of the researcher's background could have inhibited the reflexive interview process, and created difficulties in obtaining veritable information. The researcher is a twenty-two year old, White, female, which may have encumbered the transfer of information through the interview process. Inuit offenders may have been apprehensive to reveal stigmatizing information to a young and non-Inuit individual. Gender, as well may have played a role in the communication of truthful information. Some offenders may have attempted to present themselves in an unrepresentative manner, whether more or less favourable, to a female researcher. This is of particular relevance when considering the offenses focused upon by this study.

The researcher does not speak Inuktitut, which may have created communication difficulties for Inuit persons who were not fluent in English. As well, English was the second language of some Inuit offenders. Such individuals may have encountered an obstacle in efficiently, if not adequately, explaining their responses. Linguistic challenges were addressed in the formulation of interview questions, and consent forms.

The researcher is from a Northern Ontario community, although she has never previously inhabited the Nunavut region. The issue of cultural alienation is quite unfamiliar to her background. Thus, the researcher attempted to guard against imposing Westernized beliefs upon the Inuit culture. Research data was collected and analyzed from a culturally-sensitive perspective in order to avoid biases based on Westernized ideals. It has been suggested that "...truth and caring are an expression of the spirit" (Kowalsky, et al, 1996), to which Native cultures are particularly sensitive. Therefore, the researcher conducted herself in such a manner as to demonstrate her willingness to learn from and share in the experiences of the Inuit population.

As the research was conducted through a specific interview procedure over a brief period of time at a specific location, it is noted that the generalizability of results is limited. This study was restricted to data collection through semi-structured interviews with offenders at B.C.C., in Iqaluit, during the summer months of 1999. Offender characteristics, such as crime types and inmate backgrounds, may vary according to communities and seasonal changes. Inmate responses might have differed if the study had been conducted at other correctional facilities in Nunavut. This study focused upon the experiences of medium-security offenders. Further information could be gathered through conducting a study that integrated offenders from a variety of levels of the justice system, including Young Offenders, maximum security, as well as probation and parole. In addition, the offenders in this project were interviewed once with a brief follow-up. Were the narratives to have been gathered over a longer duration of time, on two or more occasions, offender responses may have been altered. Lastly, the structure of the interview may have prevented particular responses that would have been generated had a

different format been utilized. Quantitative procedures may have tapped other areas of investigation regarding Inuit criminality. As well, changes to the interview template may have more reliably targeted particular realms of experience and beliefs amongst the offenders.

Utility Within the Justice System/Future Directions

As Inuit criminality is a highly under-investigated area of research, there are many useful directions for future study. Such investigative realms include studies within all levels of the Nunavut justice system, including probation and parole, as well as Young Offenders, minimum-security, and maximum-security institutions. With specific reference to the needs of the medium-security population, which has been the focus of the study, future research should concentrate on prevention and intervention mechanisms. Initially, through granting credence to the recommendations of the participants in this study, development must occur within programming. The design and implementation of programming is crucial to the recovery of these inmates and the prevention of recidivism. These offenders' narratives accentuated the need for rehabilitation strategies that target their unique experiences. As such, programming should be designed through cooperation with the inmate population to ensure that their perspectives are considered and utilized. According to the participants, cultural factors and attention to the dynamics of Northern living should be integrated with already established programs, such as substance abuse, and life skills counselling.

Upon the development and implementation of adequate rehabilitation strategies, future research should be aimed at program evaluation. Investigations of this nature could be conducted as outcome studies, in which the focus is devoted to the inmates'

experiences subsequent to their time in prison. Protective mechanisms against recidivism, changes to the inmates' lifestyle, and suggestions of the previous offenders should be assessed in order to determine the factors that prevent recidivistic acts and assist the individuals in maintaining crime free lives. In addition, rates of recidivism could be analyzed, along with the "reincarcerated" offenders' perspectives on what further modifications should be made to the correctional system to facilitate their recovery.

Furthermore, community perspectives of the reintegration of offenders, through housing, employment and social services, should be researched. Communities with lower rates of criminal involvement could be assessed to determine what assistance is being provided that act as preventative mechanisms of criminal activity. Such information could be shared with communities demonstrating high criminal behaviour in order to develop more effective prevention and reintegration strategies. It is also important to devote attention to the women and children who have been victimized by the offenders. Investigation from this vantage point should focus on the strategies which have been designed with both the victim's protection and recovery in mind.

Exploration

There are areas that were not explored through this study that may be of great importance to the participants. Amongst these were the precise definition of role of women in Inuit society, concrete strategies for preventing criminal involvement, and suicidality. Discussions in the narratives focusing on the perceived roles of women in the Inuit society were brief and at times superficial. It is suggested that in the prevention of domestic violence, men must be cognitively aware of their beliefs about the role of

women within society, and learn to accept the current status of their partner. Through the rehabilitation changes suggested by the inmates, great development may be made towards the integration of the male offenders' own role and identity, however, little attention has been paid to his understanding of the role performed by his partner within the Inuit family. As women's roles are changing at a rapid pace in the Nunavut Territory, it is imperative that men engaging in domestic assault understand and respect the position of their partner in order to prevent further incidents of abuse.

Across the interviews, it was noted that participants spoke generally of the goals and intentions they had to facilitate their recovery and ensure successful reintegration into their home communities. However, the participants rarely had concrete steps for implementing and accomplishing these objectives. When the researcher attempted to direct questions towards this information, the offenders were seldom aware of the precise mechanisms that they would utilize to modify their behaviour. This would suggest that although the offenders may have been provided with information to confront some of their life challenges, such as substance abuse and anger, they had not gained the invaluable tools to cope with such issues in "real-life" situations. This may be particularly harmful, as without the necessary strategies to cope at home, the offenders are at risk for re-offending, and thus, suffering the subsequent damage of failure and disappointment.

Lastly, suicide is recognized as a major problem amongst the Inuit (Simon, 1996; Fouillard, 1995; Synnott, 1996). However, few of the offenders' narratives integrated much information about losing people to suicide or their own thoughts about suicide. Although it is not suggested that these inmates are necessarily suicidal, it is expected that

given the rates of suicide completion and attempts in the Nunavut Territory many of the participants' lives have been impacted to some degree by suicide. The interview did not seek specific information regarding suicide, primarily because of the emotional salience of this topic. As minimal information was gathered through the narratives regarding suicide, no conclusions can be made about the effect of suicide upon this group of offenders. Yet, given the knowledge that suicide attempts of males have frequently been initiated by psychosocial stressors, including criminal arrests (Dear, Thomsom, Hall, & Howells, 1998), in conjunction with the exceptionally high rate of suicide amongst the Inuit youth, it is imperative to focus upon the potential for suicidal behaviour amongst Inuit offenders.

Conclusions

Through grounded theory analysis, the narratives of the Inuit inmates of B.C.C. suggested that many of these individuals' lived experiences had engendered feelings of abandonment, low self-value, inability to control/frustration, powerlessness/helplessness, and alienation. The participants indicated that painful emotional events, such as childhood abuse, racial discrimination and loss of cultural connection, have each influenced their perceived levels of distress. Furthermore, destructive coping behaviours, including alcohol and/or drug abuse, as well as aggressive behaviour, have exacerbated current problems and contributed to further torment in the inmates' lives. Overall, the negative experiences expressed by the participants were believed to have inhibited the formation of both a coherent cultural and personal identity. In order to facilitate rehabilitation and prevention of criminal activity amongst the Inuit, it is imperative to directly confront the themes, which have created significant emotional pain for this

population. Through the incorporation of cultural reintegration with personal development, grief management and anger counselling it is hoped that the needs of offenders in the Baffin Region could be effectively addressed and healing processes would begin to occur.

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APPENDIX A

Background Information Sheet

Information to be gathered from public records prior to interview:

Name (pronunciation) - _____

Age (D.O.B.) - _____ (/ /)

Ethnic Background - Mother _____
- Father _____

Languages Spoken - _____

Educational Status - School Attended _____
- Highest Grade Completed _____

Community of Residence - Upon Arrest _____
- Upon Release _____

Family Status - Married/Single/Widowed/Divorced _____
- Children (sex and age) _____
_____
_____

Employment/Occupation - _____

Financial Situation - _____

Crime Committed - _____
_____
_____

Sentence - _____

Previous Criminal/Arrest History (if applicable) - _____
_____
_____

Difficulties in Prison (i.e., compliance with authorities) - _____
_____

APPENDIX B

Interview Protocol

For inmate participants:

Before we begin, I'd like to let you know that I don't want to discuss information about any crime for which you have not been convicted or intend to commit in the future. I only want to know about what brought you here. I'd like to start by getting to know a little about you and your history. I have a few questions about your family and life while growing up.

1.) Can you tell me about yourself? Describe yourself to me. Tell me what you believe is important to know about your experiences to understand you.

2.) Can you tell me about the community that you grew up in? Tell me about the school you attended. Did you learn traditional Inuit skills at school or elsewhere? What role do you think education has played for Inuit?

3.) There are differing opinions about how Inuit interact within their families. Would you please describe to me your relationship with your parents. How did you get along with each of them? Have they been influential in your life? How would you describe your relationship with extended family (grandparents, aunts/uncles, cousins, nieces/nephews)? How have these people influenced you? With whom do you wish you were closer?

I'd like to talk a little bit now about your Inuit culture and beliefs. These questions are designed to understand your ideas and opinions as an Inuit person.

1.) What role has being an Inuit person played in your life? Do you feel a connection with your culture? What aspects of the traditional Inuit knowledge have you incorporated into your life (ie. hunting, spirituality)? Who taught you these skills? Does your Inuit heritage affect your employment and personal life? How do believe your cultural background as an Inuit person affects your identity?

2.) Can you tell me how you feel about the Qallunaat (non-Inuit)? How do you believe their presence has affected the Inuit lifestyle? Do you feel that you are discriminated against as an Inuit person? How do you perceive of authority figures (ie. police, prison guards)?

3.) Are you involved in drinking or drug abuse? What does this behaviour mean to you? Does your substance use affect your behaviour and personal identity? How do you believe that substance abuse affects the Inuit? Do you believe that substance use affects how Inuit males treat females in your culture?

Now. I'd like to talk about your involvement with the Criminal Justice System. and comprehend this experience from your perspective.

1.) I want to understand what committing a crime meant to you. Can you tell me about how you came to be here? What brought you to commit the crime you did? What does this crime represent in your life? How do you feel about committing this crime?

2.) Perhaps you can share with me about your experience in the criminal justice system. How have you been treated? Do you believe that your treatment been influenced by your status as an Inuit person?

3.) How do you feel about the present rehabilitation program at B.C.C.? What do you believe it has provided for you? What recommendations would you make in the development of prevention and intervention strategies for inmates? Describe what sort of resources you believe would prevent young Inuit from engaging in criminal behaviour. How do you think recidivism by offenders could be reduced in the North?

I'd like to ask you about your opinions about women and how you believe that women should be treated. I have a few questions regarding how you feel about and interact with women.

1.) How do Inuit men view women in general? Is this attitude the same towards Inuit women? Why? What are typical beliefs about the roles of women? Describe to me what the relationships between men and women are like? How has this changed over time (i.e., since your grandfather's time)? Describe to me your beliefs about the treatment of women. What are your opinions about the abuse of women? How do your friends view this? What sort of treatment should be offered to offenders who have abused women?

2.) Can you tell me about your own family? Tell me about your relationship with your wife. How do you get along with your wife? Describe to me how you feel about her. How do you treat her? And your children? What is your relationship like with them?

Having discussed all the questions you were asked. I would like to know about your plans for the future.

1.) What are your goals and hopes after your release from prison (i.e., getting a job)? Do you think you'll end up here again? What sort of direction do you believe that you have been provided to attain your future plans? What do you feel you need to help you succeed upon going home?

Are there any more areas which you would like to discuss with me? Have there been subjects which you believe are important. to you as an Inuit person. that have not been touched upon?

APPENDIX C

Nunavut Research License

Nunavummi Qaujisaqtulirijikkut / Nunavut Research Institute
Box 1720, Iqaluit, NT X0A 0H0 phone (867) 979-4108 fax (867) 979-4681 e-mail slcnri@nunanet.com

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH LICENCE

LICENCE # 0101799N-A

ISSUED TO: Kate Burkhardt
Department of Psychology
University of Windsor
106 - 3262 Sandwich Street & RR#1, Dorion, Ontario P0T 1K0
Windsor, Ontario
N9C 1A8 Canada
1-519-254-1267/1-807-857-2373

TEAM MEMBERS: Dr. M Kral

AFFILIATION: University of Windsor

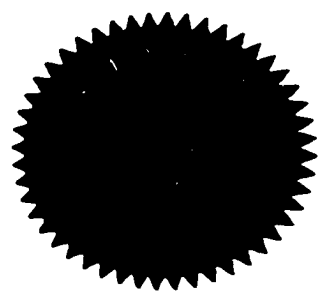
TITLE: A Survey of Crime and Prevention Strategies for the Inuit of Nunavut

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH:
To understand the characteristics of criminal behaviour from the unique cultural viewpoint of the Inuit population, the proposed study will investigate the culturally defined role of Inuit males and determine how alienation from their traditional knowledge and skills may have created identity conflict and confusion. The present study will investigate Inuit criminal involvement in the Baffin region of Nunavut, with particular focus on the community of Iqaluit through the Baffin Correctional Centre

DATA COLLECTION IN NT:
DATES: July 01, 1999 - September 10, 1999
LOCATION: Iqaluit

Scientific Research Licence 0101799N-A expires on December 31, 1999
Issued at Iqaluit, NT on July 07, 1999

Sharon Troke
Science Advisor



APPENDIX D

Baffin Correctional Centre Authorization

Nunavut Department of Justice
Corrections & Community Justice

Nunavut Memo

To: Kate Burkhardt

From: Ron McCormick - Director

CC:

Date: June 1, 1999

Re: Permission to Conduct Study

I am writing to provide you with permission to conduct your study at the Baffin Correctional Centre during the summer months of this year. Your project, entitled, "Narratives of Inuit Offenders: Crime, Identity and Cultural Alienation" may provide information that would be valuable to the development of Corrections in Nunavut. With this in mind, the Corrections Division would be supportive of the project.

We look forward to speaking with you about this more and will assist you in any way we can.

Ron McCormick

Director of Corrections & Community Justice

APPENDIX E

Northern Scientific Training Program Grant

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada / Affaires indiennes et du Nord Canada

SECTORAL POLICY DIVISION
DIVISION DES POLITIQUES SECTORIELLES

LES TERRASSES DE LA CHAUDIÈRE, OTTAWA ON K1A 0H4

To/À	Fax Number / Numéro de télécopieur: (519) 971-3609	Date: February 17, 1999
To/À	Name of addressee / Nom du destinataire: Mr. I. Michael Weis, Chairperson	Tel. No. / Numéro de téléphone (519) 253-3000 EXT. 2724
	Organization / Organisation: Northern Studies Committee, University of Windsor	
From/De	Name of Sender / Nom de l'expéditeur: Sheilagh Murphy	Tel. No. /Numéro de téléphone (819) 997-0660
	Division: Sectoral Policy Division	Room Number / Numero de pièce 901
	Fax Number / Numéro de télécopieur. (819) 994-6419	Number of pages/Nombre de pages: 2

MESSAGE:

WE ARE PLEASED TO INFORM YOU THAT THE NORTHERN SCIENTIFIC TRAINING PROGRAM COMMITTEE HAS REVIEWED YOUR APPLICATION FOR 1999-2000, AND THAT NEW NSTP FUNDS IN THE AMOUNT OF $ 3,000.00 WILL BE AWARDED TO YOUR NORTHERN STUDIES COMMITTEE. THESE ARE TO BE USED IN CONJUNCTION WITH YOUR OUTSTANDING BALANCE OF $ 213.70 TO FUND YOUR 1999-2000 APPLICANTS

THE NSTP COMMITTEE WOULD LIKE TO REMIND UNIVERSITIES THAT ALL STUDENTS SHOULD ALREADY HAVE APPLIED FOR RESEARCH LICENCES IN THE NORTH. LICENCING IS A LEGAL OBLIGATION FOR ALL RESEARCHERS. THUS ANY STUDENT LISTED AS A RESEARCHER SHOULD BE MAKING A SEPARATE APPLICATION AND SHOULD NOT BE LICENCED UNDER ANOTHER GROUP OR INDIVIDUAL

PLEASE ENSURE THAT SUPPORT FOR UNDERGRADUATES IS ONLY FOR SENIOR UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS ENTERING THEIR FINAL YEAR AND INTENDING TO UNDERTAKE AN HONOURS THESIS BASED ON NORTHERN FIELDWORK OR RESEARCH WHICH WILL BE CONTINUED IN SUBSEQUENT GRADUATE STUDY

PLEASE PROVIDE FEEDBACK ON THE NSTP COMMITTEE'S ASSESSMENT OF YOUR ACTIVITIES DURING THE PAST TWO MONTHS

APPENDIX F

Consent Form - Short Version (English)

Crime and Prevention Strategies for the Inuit of Nunavut

I, _____(please print name), agree to participate in the survey of Crime and Prevention Strategies for the Inuit of Nunavut. I have received a copy of this form in either Inuktitut or English. The researcher has verbally explained instructions regarding issues of voluntary participation, confidentiality, and the purposes of the project. This research is being conducted by Kate Burkhardt, and supervised by Dr. Michael Kral, both from the University of Windsor in Ontario.

The interview will be conducted face to face, and will be audio-taped in its entirety. All identifying information will be kept confidential. The information may be shared with other communities. However, no names of the participants will be used without permission received directly from the subject.

In this project, the researcher is studying cultural alienation and its relation to crime, prevention and intervention mechanisms through the Baffin Correctional Centre. If you have any questions or comments pertaining to this project, you may contact Kate Burkhardt in Windsor at (519)253-4232 (Psychology Dept) or by fax at (519)973-7021. Mail can be addressed to: Kate Burkhardt, Graduate Psychology Dept, University of Windsor, 401 Sunset Ave., Windsor, ON., N9C 3P4. The project director, Dr. Michael Kral, can be contacted in Windsor at 1-519-253-4232 ext. 2225 (fax - 519-973-7021). This project has been approved by the University of Windsor Ethics Committee; if you have any comments about this, please contact Dr. Madeline Mekis at the Office of Research Services, University of Windsor, at 519-253-4232 ext. 3916.

I have been fully informed of the objectives of the project being conducted. I understand these objectives and consent to being interviewed for the project. I understand that steps will be undertaken to ensure that this interview will remain confidential unless I consent to being identified. I also understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw from participation or decline to answer questions without repercussions. Any and all data that I provide may be withdrawn at my request.

_____
Participant's Name (printed)

_____ _____
Participant's Signature Date

_____ _____
Witness' signature Date

Consent Form - Short Version (Inuktitut)

ᐊᖏᕐᕋᓂ ᑕᑯᓇᐊᓕᓪ

ᐱᖃᓕᑐᒪᓕᓂᔪᓂ ᐊᓚᓗ ᓄᖅᖃᑎᒋᐊᓇᓯᐊᓂᖅ ᐊᓯᕐᓂᐅᐊᕐᓂ ᐃᓄᐃᓂ ᓄᓇᕗᒥ

ᐅᑉᖃᒃ. _____ (ᑎᑎᕋᑎᐊᓪᓗᓂ ᐊᑎᖅᓯ) ᐊᖏᕐᕈᑎᖅᑐᓴᖃᒃ ᐱᓕᐅᕆᒪᓂᔪᓂ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᐃᑎᓐᓇᓂ ᐱᖃᓕᑐᒪᓕᓂᔪᓂ ᐊᓚᓗ ᓄᖅᖃᑎᒋᐊᓇᓯᐊᓂᖅ ᐊᓯᕐᓂᐅᐊᕐᓂᔪᓂ ᐃᓄᐃᓂ ᓄᓇᕗᒥ. ᐊᓯᔨᓂᓂᓂ ᑕᑎᓇᐊᓕᓐᓂᓂ ᐱᓯᒪᓕᕆᓚ ᐃᓄᕐᑐᖅᓂ ᐅᑉᕆᓚᖅᓂᒃ ᖃᓐᓇᓄᑎᑐᓂ. ᖃᐅᔨᓴᐃᔨᐅᐅᑦ ᐅᖃᖅᓯᓄᑦ ᑐᓂᔭᕐᓂᒃᑯᑦ ᖃᓄᐃᓕᓴᕐᓂᒃᑯᑦ ᐅᓂᒃᑳᖅᑐᓂᒃ ᐅᖃᖅᓯᐅᑦᑎᓐᓂᒃ ᐅᑉᖃᒃᑯᑦ ᐅᖃᖅᓯᐅᑦᑎᓐᓂᒃ

APPENDIX G

Consent Form - Long Version (English)

Crime and Prevention Strategies for the Inuit of Nunavut

I, _____(please print name), agree to participate in the survey of Crime and Prevention Strategies for the Inuit of Nunavut. I have received a copy of this form in either Inuktitut or English. In this project, the researcher is studying crime, prevention, and intervention through the Baffin Correctional Centre. The project is being conducted by Kate Burkhardt, and supervised by Dr. Michael Kral, both from the University of Windsor in Ontario.

The fieldworker will speak with you in English, about yourself and your ideas regarding crime, cultural alienation, and gender relations. The researcher would like to learn from you and use this information to develop strategies for crime prevention and intervention. It is important to base this project on Inuit peoples' ideas and input. You will be given a form that takes a few minutes to complete. Following, the researcher will speak with you for approximately one hour or less. Some questions may be disturbing. You may choose not to answer a question at any time. You may also decide to end participation whenever you wish. The researcher will be using a tape recorder to record what you say. Your identity will remain confidential at all times. You will not be requested to name other individuals. The researcher wishes to respect your own and other's privacy. The cassette tapes will be stored securely. Once transcribed they will be erased. All identifying information will be removed from the transcripts.

The information gathered through this project will be utilized to understand cultural alienation and value systems that underlie crime behaviour. The data collected will be integrated in an attempt to formulate objectives that would reduce recidivism and develop efficacious prevention strategies. The information will be shared with other communities, through presentations at conferences, and publication as articles or books. No names of the participants will be used without permission. If you have any questions or comments pertaining to this project, you may contact Kate Burkhardt in Windsor at (519)253-4232 (Psychology Secretary) or fax at (519)973-7021. Mail can be addressed to: Kate Burkhardt, Graduate Psychology Dept, University of Windsor, 401 Sunset Ave., Windsor, ON., N9C 3P4. The project director, Dr. Michael Kral, can be contacted in Windsor at 1-519-253-4232 ext. 2225 (fax - 519-973-7021). This project has been approved by the University of Windsor Ethics Committee: if you have any comments about this, please contact Dr. Mekis at the Office of Research Services, University of Windsor, at 519-253-4232 ext. 3916.

I have been fully informed of the objectives of the project being conducted. I understand these objectives and consent to being interviewed for the project. I understand that steps will be undertaken to ensure that this interview will remain confidential unless I consent to being identified. I also understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw from participation or decline to answer any question without repercussions. Any and all data that I provide may be withdrawn at my request.

_____
Participant's Name (printed)

_____ _____
Participant's Signature Date

_____ _____
Witness' signature Date

APPENDIX H

Population Demographics

Offender Characteristics	Population [a] n (%)	Remand [b] n (%)	Total [c] N (%)
Average Age	30.8	27.6	29.5
Median Age	29.5	27	28.5
Age Range	19 - 43	19 - 41	19 - 43
Cultural Background:			
Inuit	10 (83.3)	7 (87.5)	17 (85)
Mixed Inuit-White	2 (16.6)	1 (12.5)	3 (15)
Languages Spoken:			
English	12 (100)	8 (100)	20 (100)
Inuktitut	12 (100)	8 (100)	20 (100)
Level of Educational Completion:			
Grade 5 to grade 8	7 (58.3)	3 (37.5)	10 (50)
Grade 9 to grade 12	4 (33.3)	5 (62.5)	9 (45)
Graduated high school	1 (6)	0 (0)	1 (5)
Current family status:			
Married	0 (0)	2 (25)	2 (10)
Common-law	9 (75)	5 (62.5)	14 (70)
Single	3 (43.7)	1 (12.5)	4 (20)
Children:			
None	5 (41.6)	2 (25)	7 (35)
One	1 (8.3)	2 (25)	3 (15)
Two	1 (8.3)	1 (12.5)	2 (10)
Three or more	5 (41.6)	3 (37.5)	8 (40)
Employment Status:			
Transient work history	8 (66.6)	4 (50)	12 (60)
Permanent job	4 (33.3)	4 (50)	8 (40)
Culture-related occupation	4 (33.3)	1 (12.5)	5 (25)
Self-Evaluated Financial Status:			
Poor (i.e., unemployment insurance)	6 (50)	2 (25)	8 (40)
Fair (i.e., moderately stable yet not good)	6 (50)	6 (75)	12 (60)

Current index offense:			
Property offense	2 (16.6)	4 (50)	6 (30)
Personal offense	10 (83.3)	4 (50)	14 (70)
Nature of current personal offense:			
Domestic assault	5 (50)	3 (75)	8 (57.2)
Sexual assault	4 (40)	1 (25)	5 (35.7)
Fighting	2 (20)	0 (0)	2 (14.3)
Victim of current personal offense:			
Female victim - known	9 (90)	4 (100)	13 (92.8)
- stranger	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Male victim - known	1 (10)	0 (0)	1 (7.2)
- stranger	1 (10)	0 (0)	1 (7.2)
Sentence:		Expected Sentence	
Less than 6 months	0 (0)	1 (12.5)	1 (5)
6 months to 1 year	4 (33.3)	3 (37.5)	7 (35)
1 year to 2 years	8 (66.6)	1 (12.5)	9 (45)
2 years +	0 (0)	1 (12.5)	1 (5)
Unknown	0 (0)	2 (25)	2 (10)
Previous incarcerations:			
Never	3 (25)	2 (25)	5 (25)
One time	3 (25)	3 (37.5)	6 (30)
Two to four times	3 (25)	1 (12.5)	4 (20)
Five or more	3 (25)	2 (25)	5 (25)
Nature of previous incarcerations:			
Property offense	3 (33.3)	4 (66.6)	7 (46.7)
Personal offense	6 (66.6)	4 (66.6)	10 (67)
Factors which lead to present incarceration:			
Alcohol use (at time of offense)	8 (66.7)	4 (50)	12 (60)
Drug use (high at time of offense)	2 (16.6)	1 (12.5)	3 (15)
Financial need	0 (0)	2 (25)	2 (10)
Procriminal attitude	6 (50)	2 (25)	8 (40)
Difficulties in prison:			
Guards	7 (58.3)	5 (62.5)	13 (65)
Fellow inmates	1 (8.3)	2 (25)	3 (15)

Note: [a] n = 12; [b] n = 8; [c] N = 20

APPENDIX I

Frequencies of Central Themes

	Population[a]	Remand[b]	Total[c]
	n (%)	n (%)	N (%)
Alienation			
as a central theme:	9 (75)	6 (75)	15 (75)
cultural experience:	5 (41.6)	4 (50)	9 (45)
family experience:	6 (50)	4 (50)	10 (50)
Powerlessness/Helplessness			
as a central theme:	8 (66.6)	2 (25)	10 (50)
cultural experience:	4 (33.3)	3 (37.5)	7 (35)
family experience:	6 (50)	2 (25)	8 (40)
Inability to Control/ Frustration			
as a central theme:	6 (50)	2 (25)	8 (40)
cultural experience:	4 (33.3)	3 (37.5)	7 (35)
in family experience as substance use:	8 (66.6)	5 (62.3)	13 (65)
Low Self-value			
as a central theme:	6 (50)	2 (25)	8 (40)
cultural experience:	6 (50)	3 (37.5)	9 (45)
family experience:	5 (41.6)	4 (50)	9 (45)
Abandonment			
as a central theme:	6 (50)	2 (25)	7 (35)
family experience:	9 (75)	3 (37.5)	12 (55)

Note: [a] n = 12; [b] n = 8; [c] N = 20

APPENDIX J

Description of Categories and Themes

Categories

In order of appearance within the narratives:

Education - Academic difficulties evidenced by the inmates' included: abuse at home and school, as well as cultural alienation due to formalized academic processes.
- A quotation of the inmates' academic history is, "It got really hard".

Communities of Origin - The offenders' descriptions of their hometowns included: the availability of alcohol, recreational opportunities, community connections, and employment options.

Describing Oneself - The offenders' personal descriptions included four domains: substance use, family, cultural connection, and employment. These areas related to the link between alienation and loss with the offenders' initial and current involvement in criminal activity.
- "My strength is to work" is an example of the offenders' concrete personal description.

Relationships with Women - It was evidenced that the offenders perceived domestic assault to be related to two key factors: (1) alcohol abuse, and (2) gender role confusion.
- Responses regarding the abuse of women included, "I hate abusing, but when I'm drunk...it's very different", and "I'm just starting to learn now how I should treat [my partner]".

White Man - The inmates suggested that an inherent racial struggle exists in the North between the Inuit and the White people.
- The participants often described White men as "power-hungry".

Personal Crime - The offenders reported shame, anger, and personal sadness when reflecting upon their current offense.
- "I felt so bad" was frequently stated in reference to the offenders' current offense. The offenders' described feeling "helpless" and "awful" about their incarceration.

Experience at B.C.C. - The offenders believed programming was imperative to their healing. Recommendations for treatment, provided by the offenders, included: substance abuse, anger, grief, and personal growth counselling, as well as cultural reintegration.

Hope for the Future - The majority of the offenders indicated that they would not return to B.C.C. Goals to ensure their success included: continued personal growth through employment, relationship building and moderation of alcohol.
- Many offenders stated that their release, "I don't want to look back."

Themes

In order of decreasing frequency:

Alienation: emerged within the context of the offenders' personal disconnection from their Inuit heritage, both at the familial and cultural level. This loss was exacerbated by the influence of *Qallunaat* integration in the Arctic.

Powerlessness/Helplessness: was evidenced in the inmates' life experiences in which they perceived they had "limited control". Such areas included: childhood abuse, parental alcohol problems, racial prejudice, as well as personal addictions. The offenders were not only helpless in being subject to abuse, but powerless in preventing its recurrence.

Inability to Control/Frustration: emerged frequently in relation to the offenders' substance abuse problems, and the detrimental life choices they made while intoxicated or high. The inmates were frustrated and angered by the influence of substances in their lives.

Low Self-value: arose in relation to the offenders' behaviour while they were intoxicated. The participants' feelings of regret and shame regarding their aggressive actions, linked with their perceived inadequacies in controlling their behaviour contributed to low self-value.

Abandonment: emerged within the context of family losses, particularly death and separation, and caused the offenders to feel confusion, anger and resentment. This was primarily a result of the emotional pain and cultural sacrifices the inmates had made due to the abandonment.

Hope for the Future: was expressed as a general theme of optimism and renewed dedication in the offenders' lives. Key areas that the inmates intended to target in their lives included: family relationships, personal substance use, and employment.

VITA AUCTORIS

Kate Burkhardt was born in 1976 in Thunder Bay, Ontario. She was raised in the small, rural community of Dorion, Ontario and graduated from Nipigon-Red Rock District High School in 1993. Kate pursued academic studies at Lakehead University, where in 1998, she earned an H.B.A. in Psychology, a B.A. in Sociology, and a minor in Women's Studies. Currently, she is enrolled in the Ph.D. Adult Clinical Psychology program at the University of Windsor. Her research interests include criminal behaviour and rehabilitation with focus devoted towards cultural, as well as women's issues.